

2. The second part outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, including surveys, interviews, and focus groups. It also discusses the challenges associated with data collection and analysis.

3. The third part presents the results of the study, showing the distribution of responses and the key findings. It includes tables and graphs to illustrate the data.

4. The fourth part discusses the implications of the findings for policy and practice. It suggests ways in which the results can be used to inform decision-making and improve outcomes.

5. The fifth part concludes the document by summarizing the main points and highlighting the limitations of the study. It also suggests areas for future research.

ORT
2 Vols.

HENNEPIN'S
A NEW DISCOVERY

EDITED BY
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

VOLUME I

A New Discovery of a Large
Country in AMERICA by Father
Lewis Hennepin



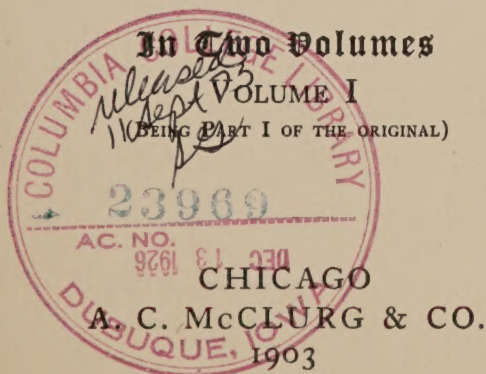
A
NEW DISCOVERY
OF A
VAST COUNTRY
IN AMERICA

By Father Louis Hennepin

*Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, with facsimiles
of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the
addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index*

By Reuben Gold Thwaites

Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents"



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INTRODUCTION

ABOUT the year 1640, Louis Hennepin, the author of this book, was born in Belgium, which was then a possession of Spain. He himself testifies that this event took place in Ath, a small town on the Dender, in the southwestern province of Hainaut, and some twenty miles east by south of Tournay. This assertion is credited by his biographer Felix van Hulst,¹ but Pierre Margry cites documents² which seem to prove that Hennepin's birth occurred at Roy, in Luxembourg province, his parents having removed thither from Ath. This conflict of testimony illustrates the confusion which has long existed in the minds of bibliophiles and students of American history with regard to many other particulars in the life and work of our author; for while few have written more profusely or in more confident tone of their own exploits, seldom have autobiographers met with so incredulous a reception.

Of his earliest years or of his antecedents, Hennepin tells us little. He says: "I was from my Infancy very fond of Travelling; and my natural Curiosity induc'd me to visit many Parts of Europe one after another;" but a few pages

¹ *Notice sur Le P. Hennepin d'Ath* (Liège, 1845).

² According to Shea, in the introduction to his translation of the *Louisiane* (N.Y., 1880); but we have ourselves been unable to find such citation in Margry's works.

further on we are assured that, "I Always found in my self a strong Inclination to retire from the World, and regulate my Life according to the Rules of pure and severe Virtue: and in compliance with this Humour, I enter'd into the Franciscan Order, designing to confine my self to an austere Way of Living." Apparently he was still a boy when he

Becomes a
Recollect.

became a novice in the Recollect convent within the old fortified town of Béthune in the Department of Pas-de-Calais, France. The Recollects were austere proselyters, an offshoot of the Franciscan order, and from their ranks were drawn the four missionaries whom Champlain introduced to Quebec in 1615.

Hennepin appears to have been an uneasy soul, discontent to remain cloistered, and fretting to engage in travel and wild adventure. The annals of his order abounded in deeds of self-sacrifice upon the frontiers of civilization. Contemplation of the records of these early missionaries inspired the young grey-gown with "a Desire of tracing their Footsteps, and dedicating my self after their Example, to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls." This was but a pious way of saying that he longed for action; later, he more fitly characterized his ambition as an "Inclination to travel."

While in Holland, whither he had gone to study the Dutch language,—no doubt French was his family tongue, rather than Walloon,—he was, he says, urged by some Amsterdam friends to go out as a missionary to the East Indies; but one of his sisters, "that was marry'd at Ghent,

and whom I lov'd very tenderly," dissuaded him from this venture. Determined, however, to see the world, young Journeys in Europe. Hennepin compromised by a journey to Italy and Germany, "which did in some measure gratifie the Curiosity of my Temper." While abroad, he had an agreeable roving commission from his father superior, to visit "all the great Churches, and most considerable Convents of our Order."

Upon returning to the Netherlands, he was taken in charge by the bishop of Ipres, a fellow Recollect, who disapproved of the roving tendencies of the young friar and compelled him to settle down for a year as preacher in a convent in Hainaut. "After which, with Consent of my Superior, I went into the Country of Artois, from whence I was sent to Calais, to act the part of a Mendicant there in time of Herring-falting."

This was a mission more in accordance with the adventurous spirit of our author, for at the fishing port of Calais he was necessarily thrown in with sailors and other travellers, whose tales of wandering filled his soul with delight. "I Hears sea-faring tales. was," he says, "passionately in love with hearing the Relations that Masters of Ships gave of their Voyages. Afterwards I return'd to our Convent at Biez, by the way of Dunkirk: But I us'd oft-times to sculk behind the Doors of Victualling-Houses, to hear the Sea-men give an Account of their Adventures. The Smoak of tobacco was offensive to me, and created Pain in my Stomach, while I was thus intent upon giving ear to their Relations: But

for all I was very attentive to the Accounts they gave of their Encounters by Sea, the Perils they had gone through, and all the Accidents which befell them in their long Voyages. This Occupation was so agreeable and engaging, that I have spent whole Days and Nights at it without eating; for hereby I always came to understand some new thing, concerning the Customs and Ways of Living in remote Places; and concerning the Pleasantness, Fertility, and Riches of the Countries where these Men had been." Perhaps this was not a dignified proceeding for a grey-friar in cowl and sandals; but there was always much of the boy in Hennepin. Any healthy lad who has revelled in *Treasure Island*, or listened even to the relatively commonplace sailors of our time as they spin their yarns over pipe and bowl, can but sympathize with this picturesque young Fleming who was by nature a wanderer, yet fettered by a frock which compelled him to hide, whereas he yearned to question his tap-room heroes face to face.

Fired still further by a desire to travel, the uneasy youth now "went Missionary into most part of the Towns of Holland." During eight months in 1673 he was at the fortified town of Maestricht, then a scene of activity in connection with the war which the Prince of Orange was waging with the French, in defence of the Dutch provinces. While there, he claims to have "administer'd the Sacraments to above Three thousand wounded Men," in the course of which duty he grew ill of a fever and came near to losing his life.

An army
chaplain.

"The singular Zeal I had for promoting the Good of

Souls," declares our self-satisfied apostle, "engag'd me the Year following to be present at the Battle of Seneffe,¹ where I was busied in administering Comfort to the poor wounded Men: Till at length, after having endur'd all manner of Fatigue and Toil, and having run the risque of extreme Dangers at Sieges of Towns in the Trenches, and in Fields of Battel, (where I never ceas'd to expose my self for the good of Mens Souls) while those bloody Men were breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, I happily found my self in a condition to fatisfie my first Inclination." He had been called from his army chaplaincy by the father superior, and ordered to proceed to La Rochelle, then the chief port for vessels sailing to New France, and there seek an early opportunity to obtain passage for Quebec.

The Recollects were introduced into New France as evangelists to the Indians, by Champlain himself; but finding themselves, a mendicant order without funds, unequal to a task necessitating a considerable expenditure of money, they had in 1624 invited the more powerful Jesuits to share the work with them. The two orders labored together, not without some friction, until the English conquest (1629). When England released her control in 1632, the Jesuits returned alone, and it was not until 1670 that the Recollects were again brought upon the scene—this time by the intendant Talon, who wished to use them as a foil to the Jesuits, of whom he was not fond. To the little company of grey-gowns then established at Quebec,

Recollects in
New France.

¹ Aug. 11, 1674.

five others were added in 1675, at the request of Frontenac.

We may well be sure that Hennepin used such arts as were practicable to secure service in so inviting a field as North America, which in his day offered possibilities in the line of adventure unequalled elsewhere in the world. The voyage on the Mississippi River by Joliet and Marquette had but recently been made known in Europe; and perhaps at no time was the spirit of discovery, the yearning for daring continental exploits on behalf of New France, more generally diffused.

Of that little ship's company in the summer of 1675, were three men destined to become famous in different walks of life — François-Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, bishop of the newly-established see of Quebec; René-Robert Cavelier, Hennepin sails for Quebec. Sieur de la Salle, the great explorer, who had recently been raised by the king to the dignity of an untitled nobleman and to the governorship of Fort Frontenac; and our hero. They arrived in Quebec in September, after the usual ocean-crossing incidents of the time, their vessel having been unsuccessfully attacked by Turkish and Algerian pirates in turn.

Upon the voyage, the friar was, according to his own story, rebuked by La Salle because he had sought to restrain the boisterous conduct of several young women who were being sent to Canada to find husbands among the settlers. Hennepin declares that to that trivial incident was traceable La Salle's persistent enmity to him in later years; but in his

earliest book Hennepin declares that he and La Salle were friendly, and at Fort Frontenac planned their discoveries together. It was not until after La Salle's death, when he sought to appropriate to himself credit for the former's explorations, that Hennepin alludes to this animosity. La Salle probably conceived a dislike for the missionary, while upon their Western expedition.

During the young Recollect's first four years in Canada he occupied, at least nominally, the post of preacher in Advent and Lent to the cloister of St. Augustin in the Hotel-Dieu at Quebec. Restless, as usual, he was not content to remain long within the stone walls of the dreary little capital of New France. The greater part of each year was spent as an itinerant missionary, following the hunters to their camps, visiting the Indian cantonments, and making notes on the country. In chapter ii of Part i, he gives us a vivid picture of his costume and his method of travelling — in winter, a dog-sledge carried his clothing and portable altar, while he, enveloped in gown and cowl, shuffled along behind in his snowshoes; in summer, a canoe was his conveyance, and Indians and long-haired voyageurs his companions. This rugged life, in which he trained himself for the great wilderness journeys to come, was filled with hardships and dangers — for the canoeist was in momentary peril of losing his life in rapids, and the traveller by snowshoes of "falling headlong over fearful Precipices"; Indian treachery was ever to be feared; "In the Night-time I had nothing to cover me

Rigorous
training.

but a Cloak; and sometimes the Frost pierc'd to my very Bones;" while "My Commons also were very short, scarce more than to keep me from starving."

At first, his mission called him little more than a hundred miles from Quebec, from whose gates the almost unbroken wilderness stretched in all directions; but after a time he was ordered to Fort Frontenac, which had been built in 1673 upon the site of the present city of Kingston, Missionary at Fort Frontenac. Ontario, and now was commanded by his shipmate, La Salle. Here, upon the shore of Lake Ontario, "a Hundred Leagues from Quebec," in company with a brother Recollect, Father Luke Buisset, he "persuaded several of the barbarous Iroquese, to cultivate the Ground," and erected a chapel for the instruction of the tribesmen whom La Salle had persuaded to settle there. "I there gave my self much," he writes, "to the reading of Voyages, and increas'd the Ambition I had to pursue my Design" of "making this Discovery I am about to relate"—the exploration of the Mississippi Valley.

He claims to have one winter (1676-77) visited, while at Frontenac, all of the principal cantonments of the Iroquois, or "Five Nations," his escort being a French soldier from the fort. At one time they lodged with Father Jacques Among the Iroquois. Bruyas, one of the Jesuit missionaries to the Iroquois. In April, having encountered a party of Dutch fur-traders who had come out to pick up beaver pelts, Hennepin apparently returned with these men to Albany

(then New Orange),¹ where he was kindly received because he spoke Dutch. There were many Dutch Catholics at New Orange, who invited the Flemish friar to settle among them as their priest; but he declares that fear of offending the French Jesuits, and of injuring the fur trade of New France, whose chief commercial rivals were the Dutch traders, impelled him to decline these advances.

After a chaplaincy of two years and a half at Fort Frontenac, — so says Hennepin, but his dates are sadly confusing, — he and Father Buisset returned in a canoe to Quebec, “where I retir’d into the Recollets Convent of St. Mary, in order to prepare and sanctifie my self for commencing our Discovery.” Throughout all of his books runs the assumption that he, Father Hennepin, was the person who originated and planned the explorations which he records, but which posterity perversely associates chiefly with the name of La Salle; although sometimes he magnanimously allows the latter, as in the foregoing sentence, equal honors with himself.

In 1677 La Salle had gone to Paris to interest the court in forwarding his gigantic scheme for an exploration which was to result in connecting Canada with the Gulf of Mexico, by means of a chain of forts upon the Great Lakes and rivers. Successful in this mission, he reached Quebec in the middle of September the following year, eager at once to commence his splendid enterprise. Practically all of the

¹ Hennepin’s account leaves the reader in small doubt as to this; but Brodhead’s *History of New York*, ii, p. 307, does not accept this conclusion.

exploring parties whose records form a part of the annals of New France contained one or more missionaries, for the work of the church went hand in hand with the service of the king; territorial expansion meant new fields not only for the beaver trade but for the possible conversion of the heathen. The Jesuits were members and annalists of several such expeditions, Marquette having thus served with Joliet; Selected to accompany La Salle. but La Salle, although educated in a Jesuit house, was now at outs with that order, and preferred the company of the humbler Recollects. Selected by his superior to accompany La Salle upon this ambitious journey into the continental interior, Hennepin, summoned to Quebec, impatiently awaited the great explorer's return.

La Salle arrived at the close of September, 1678, bringing to the friar, from Paris, the formal command of the Recollect provincial. Hennepin was forthwith entertained at dinner by the governor, Count Frontenac, and received the blessing of Bishop Laval; while both of these dignitaries gave him written certificates of their approbation. Frontenac, in particular, "a Man that testify'd a great deal of Affection for our Flemish Recollects, because of our Candour and Ingenuity . . . was pleas'd to give publicke Testimonie to the Generosity of my Undertaking, while we were set at Table."

While La Salle was preparing the details of the expedition and gathering supplies, Hennepin was sent on in advance to Fort Frontenac, "that," he grandiloquently Sent on in advance. assures us, "my Departure might oblige the rest to expedite their Affairs with speed." His own equipment

was modest, such as he had often to carry upon his back during the three years to come, comprising only "my portable Chapel, one Blanket, and a Matt of Rufhes, which was to serve me for Bed and Quilt." His dress was that of the order: a coarse grey robe with pointed hood, a rope about the waist, crucifix and rosary hanging from this rude girdle, and sandals upon his feet—the last-named a special concession for American missionaries, for the Recollect mendicants in Europe were barefooted. Thus attired and equipped, our hero—now some thirty-seven years of age, in the prime of his vigor and aglow with hope—joyfully descended the angling path to the strand of Lower Town, doubtless arm in arm with his brother monks. Awaiting him were two lusty voyageurs with a birch-bark canoe, into which he stepped with practised care; and soon he was waving farewell to the prayerful little group upon the shore, whose blessings he carried forth upon the strange journey wherein he was to win both fame and obloquy.

Now and then he stopped upon his way to minister to lonely little groups of habitants—fishers, hunters, voyageurs, and farmers all in one, as season or opportunity demanded—who had cut notches out of the riverside forest, and, seldom seeing a priest, were rejoiced at this unexpected visitation. Once he baptized a child, and frequently preached and said mass. At Montreal, his canoemen deserted him, evidently bribed by La Salle's commercial enemies, who were jealous of the explorer's fur-trade monopoly and these ambitious projects towards the West.

Voyage to
Fort Frontenac.

But, not disheartened, the adventurous friar promptly engaged two substitutes, and after some minor incidents of wilderness travel arrived at Fort Frontenac late in the night of the second of November. There he was greeted by his old comrade, Father Buisset, who, with Father Gabriel Ribourde, newly arrived from France, had preceded him upon this dangerous journey. Six days later, La Motte de Lussière, one of La Salle's lieutenants, arrived with the majority of the party, leaving La Salle and his chief ally, Henri de Tonty, to follow a month later.

La Motte brought orders from La Salle to dispatch an advance party of fifteen men in canoes, to notify the Indians along the lakes, especially upon Lake Michigan and in the Illinois country, of the coming of the expedition, and to win their hearts by presents and soft speeches; also to gather peltries, for La Salle had obtained a practical monopoly of the forest trade in the far West, and the costs of the enterprise, represented by the explorer's numerous debts left behind him in France and Quebec, must be met by the profits of this traffic. La Motte and Hennepin, with sixteen men, meanwhile sailed in La Salle's brigantine, of ten tons burthen, to Niagara. The tempestuous voyage occupied from the eighteenth of November to the sixth of December. At a point about two leagues up Niagara River, La Motte commenced the erection of a fort, but soon abandoned this project when it became evident that the nearest Iroquois tribe, the Senecas, were jealous of so formidable an intrusion; he thereupon contented himself with

Arrival at
Niagara.

constructing "an Habitation encompass'd with Palifados" to protect his magazines.

Late in December, La Salle and Tonty, with the remaining supplies, set sail in "a great Barque" from Fort Frontenac. Their pilot almost succeeded in wrecking them on Christmas eve, off the Bay of Quinté. Later, they landed at the mouth of the Genesee and visited a large town of the Senecas, who

Senecas conciliated. reluctantly consented to allow La Salle to transport his supplies and equipment by the portage-path around Niagara Falls, to build a vessel above the cataract, and there erect a fortified trading-house as a base of operations. Proceeding to Niagara River, La Salle again left his vessel, to select a ship-yard site above the falls; but the pilot, possibly corrupted by enemies, this time allowed the bark to be lost off shore in a storm. Of its precious cargo nothing was saved, except cables and anchors destined for the vessel which it was proposed to build for the upper lakes.

With great labor, of which the friar — after the custom of missionaries in New France — no doubt performed his full share, the heavy stores were duly portaged to the mouth of Lake Erie, "two Leagues above the great Fall," and work

Building the "Griffon." commenced on the building of the "Griffon," a sailing-vessel of some forty-five tons burthen. In February (1679) La Salle made a perilous trip through the forest and over the ice to Fort Frontenac, a distance of about two hundred and fifty miles, to obtain additional equipment, to replace that lost in the bark. Meanwhile, Tonty — La Motte had returned to the settlements soon

after the arrival at Niagara — proceeded with the construction of the “Griffon”; and in due time she was launched, to the great astonishment of the simple Iroquois, who, influenced by La Salle’s opponents, had done their best to hamper the enterprise. Indeed, several of the white servants of the expedition also gave much trouble, having doubtless been bribed to spread a spirit of mutiny.

It was the end of July before La Salle returned, having been delayed by the agents of importunate creditors, whose untimely demands threatened destruction of his hopes. But the resourceful adventurer finally compromised with them, and hurried back to his men, who were now housed aboard the vessel, for the hostility of the Iroquois rendered life ashore beset with peril.

Men thrown closely together in exploring parties are often depressed by long periods of enforced idleness, and possibly misery in many other forms; in that mood they readily find occasion for quarrelling, especially with those who exercise that strict command which is essential to success. Tonty, a masterful man, had trouble not only with the servants, but with the missionary himself; the latter declares that he not only disliked all subjects of Spain, such as Hennepin
Hennepin
disliked
by Tonty. still was, but suffered from jealousy, “because I kept a Journal of all the considerable Things that were transacted; and that he design’d to take the same from me. This Advice oblig’d me to stand upon my Guard, and take all other Precautions, to secure my Observations.” It is well for us that Tonty, who evidently had small patience with a man of Hen-

nepin's character, failed in his designs against the father's note-book; for to it we owe the first detailed description and illustration of Niagara Falls, as well as much else which sheds strong light on the enterprises of La Salle and the life and manners of North American savages at the time when they first came in contact with white men.

During the spring, apparently wishing to go into "retreat," Hennepin himself repaired to Fort Frontenac, in company with a Canadian for whom also Tonty had conceived a dislike.¹ Descending the Niagara in a canoe, they took passage in the brigantine which had brought La Motte and the friar in the previous December, and was now engaged on La Salle's behalf in the Lake Ontario fur trade. After many adventures, and several visits to Indian villages, wherein peltries were bargained for by the master of the vessel, the travellers finally reached the fort, being fondly greeted by the four Recollects whom they found there—Ribourde, Buisset, Zenobe Membré, and Melithon Watteau, all of them compatriots of Hennepin, "Natives of the Spanish Netherlands."

At the instance of La Salle, Ribourde, Membré, and Watteau returned to Niagara with our hero, on board of the fur-trade brigantine. Stopping to trade with the Indians, the vessel lay in Irondequoit Bay, and was joined eight days later by La Salle, who came in a canoe along the southern coast of the lake.

Returns
to Fort
Frontenac.

Missionary
recruits.

¹ So says Hennepin. But in the apochryphal Tonty relation (Margry, *Découvertes*, i, p. 578) it is stated that Tonty sent eleven men with Hennepin.

Upon the fourth of August, La Salle and the four Flemish friars reached the "Griffon." It had been arranged by the Recollect authorities that Watteau should be left behind at the warehouse above the falls, to minister to the neighboring Senecas; while Hennepin, Ribourde, and Membré were to accompany the expedition to carry the gospel to the Western tribes.

The "Griffon," departing from the Niagara ship-yard upon the seventh of August, the first sailing-vessel to plow the waters of the upper lakes, enjoyed a pleasant passage through Lake Erie, the strait of Detroit, and Lake St. Clair. Upon Lake Huron, however, a violent storm alarmed the travellers, so that they were glad to find peaceful anchorage off Point St. Ignace, in the straits of Mackinac. The Jesuit missionaries there established made them welcome; although Hennepin, with characteristic jealousy, fails even to mention their black-gown hosts. It was from this haven that Joliet and Marquette had departed, six years previous, to discover the Mississippi River.

After a week in the Mackinac region, the "Griffon" entered Lake Michigan and ran over to Washington Island, off the mouth of Green Bay. Here La Salle found some of the advance party of traders whom he had dispatched the year before; they had accumulated a goodly store of furs, which were promptly loaded into the vessel. Such were La Salle's financial straits that he deemed it wise to hurry forward to his creditors this valuable cargo, thereby to secure

the release of such of his property as they had seized at Fort Frontenac and elsewhere. The crew of the "Griffon" were accordingly ordered to sail at once to Niagara, and then "with all imaginable speed, to join us toward the Sourthen Parts of the Lake, where we should stay for them among the Illinois."

Leaving the islands upon the nineteenth of September, La Salle, with fourteen men in five heavily-laden canoes, paddled southward along the Wisconsin shore of Lake Michigan. It was a long and weary journey, involving much hardship, and actual danger from storms and hostile savages. In some of the encounters with the natives, the party came close to disaster; but persistence, diplomacy, and courage carried them safely through, although it was the first of November before they arrived at the mouth of St. Joseph River. Voyage to St. Joseph River. Joseph River—"the River of Miamis," in Hennepin's text. Tonty and twenty men had been left behind at St. Ignace with orders to proceed to this point by way of the eastern (Michigan) shore of the lake; but it was twenty days before he succeeded in joining his master, having been detained by storms and scarcity of food. As for the "Griffon," it had not yet appeared, and for many months La Salle was heartsick with anxiety for her fate. It was not until long after, that the unfortunate pathfinder learned of her loss in a storm between Green Bay and Mackinac, owing to the unskilfulness of the pilot—although there were not lacking rumors of positive treachery.

Leaving a small garrison in the log fort which had been erected at the mouth of the St. Joseph, the remainder of the now reunited party—thirty-three in number—left upon the third of December to ascend the river and proceed over the portage (at the present South Bend, Ind.) to the Kankakee branch of the Illinois. The expedition moved slowly, for the pressure for food necessitated scouring the woods for game, so that it was the last of the month before they reached the great town of the Illinois, near the present Utica. The inhabitants were away upon their winter hunt, leaving the lodges empty, thus making it necessary for the explorers to proceed further; although in the absence of the owners they helped themselves liberally to dried corn, of which there was a large supply in concealed pits.

Upon New Year's Day (1680) the expedition reached the broadening of Illinois River which we now call Peoria Lake.

Meeting the Illinois Indians. The occasion was celebrated by the friars in saying mass; "and having wish'd a happy New-year to M. la Salle, and to all others, I thought fit to make a pathetical Exhortation to our Grumblers, to encourage them to go on chearfully, and inspire them with Union and Concord. Father Gabriel, Zenobe, and I, embrac'd them afterwards; and they promis'd to continue firm in their Duty." Later in the day, a short distance below the lake, they encountered an Illinois village of eighty cabins, wherein, after the usual flurry of alarm on the part of the savages, they were treated with courtesy.

But, even in this remote corner of the wilderness, La Salle soon found that his enemies were at work. That night there appeared in the village a Mascoutin chief who came to council with the Miamis; seeing La Salle, he denounced him as engaged on a mission to induce the Western tribes to unite with the Iroquois in devastating the country of the Illinois. To add to his mortification, La Salle discovered the following morning that six of his men had deserted him and disappeared within the forest, where doubtless they became *coureurs-de-bois*, the most fascinating occupation which offered itself to adventurous spirits in New France.

La Salle, having by his firm yet friendly manner disarmed criticism among his hosts, erected a palisaded defense on a hill in the vicinity of the cantonment, and called it Fort Crêvecœur (Heart-break)—a name long thought by historians to refer to the heart-rending situation in which he found himself; but apparently it was in compliment to Louis XIV of France, in allusion to that monarch's capture (1672) and subsequent demolition of a Netherlands stronghold thus named, near Bois-le-Duc.

Upon the first of March La Salle again set out for Fort Frontenac, accompanied by an Indian hunter and four Frenchmen, seeking equipment for a vessel to be erected at Crêvecœur for carrying his party down the Mississippi. It was a dangerous journey of about a thousand miles by land and water, the making of which consumed sixty-five weary days. Although met by enemies and

Enemies
at work.

Fort
Crêvecœur.

La Salle
leaves for
Canada.

grasping creditors, he contrived to duplicate the supplies of material for the new vessel, which had vainly been expected on the ill-fated "Griffon," and then set out for Crêvecœur to rejoin Tonty.

But we are in the present notice henceforth less concerned with the checkered career of La Salle—who, though continually harrassed by fate, returned again and again to the giant task to which he had set himself, only to fail at last—than we are with the progress of Hennepin, whose adventures must now exclusively claim our attention. Upon the day previous to La Salle's departure from Crêvecœur, he had dispatched our hero with two companions to descend to the mouth of the Illinois River and for some distance upon the Mississippi, and report upon the country. It appears from Hennepin's own confession, that although presumably a rugged man, he had weakened at thought of the hardships and perils of such a trip. Claiming that a disease
Hennepin weakens. of the gums necessitated his return to Canada for treatment, he sought to induce Ribourde to take his place; but the latter excused himself, for he was now sixty-five years of age and feeling old—the forest missionaries of New France early became, like their barbaric wards, the victims of rheumatism and lung diseases. Membré was also approached, but that father, despite his freely-expressed dislike of the work which fell to him in the foul-smelling and turbulent villages of the Illinois, concluded in this juncture that his duty lay among a people whose language he understood; a

few months later, Ribourde was slain by Kickapoos who objected to conversion. Hence Hennepin must sacrifice himself, his fellow-travellers being Michel Accau (or Ako) and Antoine Augel, who was nicknamed "le Picard" because from Picardy. While Hennepin throughout his narrative characteristically speaks of himself as the leader, and as a rule only mentions his companions as "the two Men who were with me," Accau appears to have been the real head of the party, the grey-gown being merely the usual ecclesiastical supernumerary.

Up to the point of their reaching the mouth of the Illinois, some fifty leagues below Crêvecœur, we are, in Hennepin's journal, treading upon firm ground. By means of the accounts of La Salle, the report ascribed to Tonty, and various contemporary documents, we are able to corroborate the father's narrative; and find it in the main trustworthy, save for the vainglorious attitude which detracts from its merit, although this leads no discriminating reader astray. Henceforth, however, we are in more or less doubt, for not only are some of the father's statements, especially as given in the book here reprinted, quite impossible of credence, but we shall see that his several narratives are in themselves contradictory.

His earliest volume, *Description de la Louisiane*, was published in Paris less than three years after this adventure. In that, as well as in chapter xxxvi of the present volume (which is in large measure a direct translation of the *Louisiane*), Hen-

nepin claims that, having left Crêvecœur upon the twenty-ninth of February, "On the seventh of March we met, within two Leagues from the River Mefchafipi, a Nation of the Sav-
Stopped by ice. ages call'd Tamaroa"; they were detained at this place until the twelfth of the month by "The Ice which came down from the Source of the Mefchafipi." In the *Louisiane*, he claims only to have thenceforth ascended the Mississippi to its upper waters; and we have ample proof that he did make this journey, for not only does his journal abound in internal evidence of his having visited the country and the tribes therein described, but the great coureur-de-bois Du Luth has independently testified to having rescued him from the Indians.

Taken prisoners by the Sioux upon the eleventh or twelfth of April, near Lake Pepin, about five hundred miles above
Imprisoned by Sioux. the mouth of the Illinois, the three French adventurers were marched to the villages of that nation in the Mille Lacs region, and accompanied their captors upon several hunting expeditions. At one time they visited the Falls of St. Anthony, at the site of the modern Minneapolis; this waterfall, like that of Niagara, Hennepin was the first to describe in a published narrative. After extended wanderings through northeastern Minnesota and northwestern Wisconsin,—during which they suffered abundant hardships, but apparently fared almost as well as their captors,—there suddenly appeared upon the scene Daniel Greysolon du Luth (or Lhut) with four French followers, who were visiting

the Sioux in the interests of Count Frontenac's fur trade. Du Luth had obtained a strong influence over the savages of this region, and succeeded in bargaining for the release of his three compatriots upon promise to return thither with goods to be exchanged for furs.

The sturdy *coureur-de-bois* was kindness itself. Turning from his search for peltries, he and his men in early autumn descended the Mississippi with Accau's party, and, after more than one thrilling adventure, escorted them up the Wisconsin River and down the Fox to the Jesuit mission of Green Bay, and eventually to the St. Ignace mission at Mackinac. In describing this journey, the ungrateful Hennepin continually vaunts his own superior bravery, even to claiming that in at least one dangerous situation Du Luth was stricken with fear, and nothing but the father's cool directions brought the company through safely. As usual, Hennepin neglects, through professional jealousy, even to notice the existence of his Jesuit hosts at Green Bay; although in describing his residence at Mackinac he incidentally mentions Father Philippe Pierson of that mission, but apparently only because the latter was his fellow-townsmen from Ath.

After a winter of Jesuit hospitality at St. Ignace, during which he and Pierson amused themselves by skating, and fishing through the ice with nets, Hennepin left in Easter week (1681) and proceeded down the lakes to Niagara, soon thereafter joining Buisset at Fort Frontenac, whence he went

to Montreal. There he was greeted by Frontenac, who chanced to be at that then far-away outpost of New France.

The governor "did wonder to see me so much alter'd, being lean, tir'd, and tann'd, having lost my Cloak that the Iffati had stoll'n from me, being then cloath'd in an old Habit, patch'd up with pieces of wild Bulls-Skins [buffalo hide]. He carri'd me to his own House, where I continu'd for twelve Days to refresh my self. . . . He was much pleas'd to hear me talk of all the Hazards I had run in so long a Voyage, among so many different Nations." Not long after this episode, which no doubt has lost nothing in the telling, our hero returned to Quebec, and thence in due time sailed for Europe—probably in the following autumn.

During at least the succeeding year, Hennepin was cloistered in the convent of his order at St. Germain-en-Laye, and there he appears to have written his first book, the *Louisiane*. The royal privilege allowing the Paris publisher—the widow of Sebastian Huré—to print the volume, was granted September 3, 1682; it was registered on the books of the printers' guild a week later, and printing for the first edition was completed on the fifth of January following. The volume must have at once met with a considerable sale, for new editions appeared in 1684 and 1688, and it was translated into Italian, Dutch, and German. Nevertheless it did not fail to arouse hostile criticism. Contemporary letters have been preserved,¹ showing that fellow ecclesiastics

¹ Neill, "The Writings of Louis Hennepin," read before the Minnesota Historical Society, September 6, 1880.

in Europe had small faith in Father Louis's pretensions; and La Salle had, before the book was issued, sent home word from Fort Frontenac that the friar was fond of representing things "as he wished them to be, and not as they were."

Had Hennepin, however, been content with being a one-volume author, his reputation might still be as good as that of most other explorers of his day; it being then the custom for travellers freely to spice their narratives with imaginary deeds, and to adopt more or less of a bragging tone. The pages of our adventurous friar abound in exaggeration and self-glorification; although his geographical and ethnographical descriptions are excellent, and add much to our knowl-

A second volume. edge of the North American interior during the last third of the seventeenth century. But in 1697, encouraged by his first success, he brought forth at Utrecht another book—*Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand Pays, situé dans l'Amérique*. This omits the description of life and manners among the Indians, which was perhaps the strongest feature of *Louisiane*, and is filled out with other matter. It is dedicated to the English king in much the same terms of fulsome flattery as he had used towards the French monarch upon the pages of his *Louisiane*. The volume appears to have leaped into popularity, for new editions in French were published in 1698, 1704, 1711, 1712, and 1737; while translations were made into Dutch, German, Spanish, and English. Apparently it was one of the most widely read books of its day.

Six years before its appearance there had been published,

although at once suppressed, Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foi*, which contained an account by Hennepin's colleague,

Plagiarism

from Membré.

Father Membré, of La Salle's journey from Fort Crêvecœur to the mouth of the Mississippi (1682), in which Membré participated. This account, which, because of the suppression of Le Clercq's work, was little known at the time, Hennepin boldly appropriated, with such few verbal changes as were necessary to make it appear that this was a part of his own journal of 1680: thus setting up the astonishing claim that on leaving Crêvecœur he had first journeyed to the Gulf of Mexico, and then, returning to the junction of the Illinois, experienced the adventures upon the upper Mississippi which are detailed in *Louisiane*. Yet in his first book he had taken pains to state that he had not been upon the lower reaches of the Mississippi; he had intended to go down to its mouth, he says, "but the tribes that took us prisoners gave us no time to navigate this river both up and down."

That it was quite impracticable for him to have made the alleged trip to the lower waters of the great river, is evident from the dates given by the father himself. In *Louisiane*, as

An impossible claim.

in the later volume herewith reprinted, the party are said to have left the Illinois not earlier than the twelfth of March. Upon the eleventh of April his party were captured by the Sioux near Lake Pepin. This leaves a scant month for the author to have descended and ascended the Mississippi and reached the place of capture—a journey all told of some 3260 miles. Hennepin tells us that his

canoe was slow, being large and laden heavily; yet to accomplish this feat he must have ascended the river against a strong current, at the rate of sixty miles a day, nearly three and a half times the speed attained two years later by La Salle, with better boats.

The excuse made by Hennepin for waiting until ten years after La Salle's death (which had occurred in 1687), before making this claim of priority in the exploration of almost the entire length of the Mississippi, from the mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony,—and for contradicting his own express statement in *Louisiane*,—is, that fear of personal violence from La Salle or his partisans prevented an earlier relation of the entire truth regarding his travels. But this statement, repeated with elaboration at numerous points within the *Nouvelle Découverte* and its successors, does not have the ring of sincerity; and probably all historians are now agreed, as were his contemporaries, that only the original tale is to be credited. That numerous other passages and indeed chapters in all of his books subsequent to *Louisiane* were borrowed in whole or in part from Le Clercq, is evident; we have in our footnotes indicated the important thefts. The familiar charge, however, that several of the earlier chapters of even *Louisiane* are stolen from La Salle's memoir as given by Margry,¹ is not important; for, even if that memoir be accepted as genuine, it is quite possible that La Salle, as the leader of the expedition,

¹ "Relation des découvertes et des voyages du Sieur de la Salle," in *Découvertes et établissement des Français*, i, p. 435 et seq.

had access to Hennepin's original journal, and he might with propriety have freely borrowed therefrom. But it is probable that the alleged memoir is after all merely a paraphrase of Hennepin's book, by some other hand.

While historians are agreed that the Hennepin books succeeding *Louisiane* abound in clumsy plagiarisms, and that the new claim of priority over La Salle was mendacious, there is not unanimous opinion as to who was responsible.

Who was
responsible?

Charlevoix, Kalm, Bancroft, and Parkman have all pronounced Hennepin to be a falsifier; and so at first did Shea.¹ But later,² Shea took opposite ground, and sought to show that an unscrupulous publisher made up the new editions out of such material as lay at hand, apparently without consulting the author. To this charitable view, Poole good-naturedly yields a hesitating adherence.³ Shea considers that he has made a strong point in favor of his theory regarding *Nouvelle Découverte*, by showing that several "sections" of that book bear special "signatures" of a character indicating to his mind that the type was set up and the sheets printed in different offices. But Paltsits, in his Bibliographical Data accompanying the present volume, takes what we consider the right view of the case — that the mechanical peculiarities of *Nouvelle Découverte* are not such as to warrant the conclusion that it was printed in different offices. Again, we must remember that in numerous

¹ *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (N.Y., 1853), pp. 99-106.

² In the introduction to his translation of *Louisiane* (1880).

³ *The Dial*, Chicago, i, p. 253.

places throughout the book, in dedication and preface as well as in text, Hennepin in his own inimitable manner refers with warmth to the presentation of his new claim, and seeks to answer his critics; while the same spirit which dictated this species of thievery, leads him to introduce into nearly every chapter fresh exaggerations of statement, with the view of enhancing public interest in his so-called discovery. A careful comparison between *Louisiane* and its successors leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that, as Shea originally held, the blame must rest upon the shoulders of Hennepin, quite as much as upon those of his publishers. For a barefooted mendicant friar, presumed to be living a life of austerity, Hennepin appears to have been uncommonly acute in making his wares attractive to the uncritical public.

For three years after the publication of *Louisiane* (1683-86), Hennepin was guardian of the Recollects at Renti in Artois, and from his own account appears to have been busily engaged in rebuilding the convent at that place. The commissary provincial of his order, at Paris, Father Le Fevre — possibly desiring to rusticate his erratic brother — had at one time wished him to return to America. At the time he declined to go, taking refuge in the fact that the rules of the Recollects did not permit of their being sent beyond seas

Persecution
by superiors. save with their own consent; his reasons were, he afterwards declared, that he feared violence at the hands of La Salle. Thereupon he declares that Le Fevre, who was a friend of La Salle, began a systematic persecution, which lasted for many years.

Ordered to go to Rome, he returned only to be sent to the convent at St. Omer; and then came what purported to be a mandate from the court at Paris, ordering him to depart from French territory and betake himself to his native Flanders, which was still Spanish soil — but Hennepin asserts that he afterwards discovered this order to be a forgery. The father's appeal to King Louis XIV received no attention, and he went to Gosselies, in Brabant, where he became confessor of the Recollect nuns (Penitents). During his five years' stay there, he claims to have built a large church and in many ways advanced the prosperity of his charge. But here again he was in hot water, for Le Fevre claimed that Gosselies belonged to France, and Hennepin should remain in Flanders. The latter denied this claim, and asserted that he held protection from the King of Spain; nevertheless he appears to have retired to Ath, the home of his childhood.

By this time La Salle had been assassinated, and Hennepin was himself desirous of returning to America, but now had difficulty in obtaining permission to do so. Denied a footing in France, he won the kindly consideration of Blaithwayt, Befriended by King William III. secretary of war to William III of England, who, though a Protestant, was as Prince of Orange and defender of the Netherlands an ally of Catholic Spain. William and his secretary took pity upon the persecuted friar, and used their influence in an attempt to secure for him a missionary appointment to America. But the officials of the Recollects had now changed their minds relative to the disposition of their vain-glorious brother, and at first granted

nothing but fair promises. Being in the convent of his order at Antwerp (1696), Hennepin, attired in lay clothing, set out by land for Amsterdam in company with a Venetian ship-captain. On the way they were robbed by six mounted highwaymen, and it was only after many difficulties that our hero reached the Hague and was granted an audience by his friend King William. That monarch, upon the recommendation of the king of Spain and the elector of Bavaria, and the consent of the general commissary of the Recollects at Louvain, appears to have taken the missionary into his employ — evidently another name for subsisting him; while some of the English noblemen in Flanders, possibly only to pique the French, showed the father some social civilities.

Arrived finally at Amsterdam, he sought a publisher for his second volume of American travels; but failing here to secure one, proceeded to Utrecht, and there (1697) published *Nouvelle Découverte*. There is no reason to doubt that while in Utrecht he personally supervised the printing of this volume; also his third, *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe*, which appeared from the press of another Utrecht publisher in the following year. The *Nouveau Voyage* was a hasty piece of patchwork, after the manner of many a modern book produced by a popular author who is making hay while the sun shines. The accounts of Indian life in *Nouvelle Découverte* are awkwardly pieced out with matter largely taken from Le Clercq. Translations into Dutch and German appeared within the same year.

With the
publishers.

While the *Nouveau Voyage* was appearing in Utrecht, there was being printed in London an English version of The English version. Hennepin's travels, under the title of *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*. Within the year there was a re-issue of this volume, with some improvements in phraseology, arrangement, and typography; it is this second issue which we are now reprinting. Part I (our Volume I) contains the *Nouvelle Découverte*; Part II (our Volume II) is practically the *Nouveau Voyage*, with added matter introducing Marquette's voyage (1673) and like travels in North America. It is impossible to say how far Hennepin assisted in the translation and editing of *A New Discovery*; but doubtless he had a general supervision of the work, which appears to have enjoyed the personal patronage of King William, who apparently had more faith in the Flemish friar than was entertained for him in France. In some respects it is the most satisfactory of Hennepin's books. This fact, and the existence of Shea's abundantly-annotated translation of *Louisiane*, have influenced us in selecting the London volume for reproduction. There was a reprint of the second issue, in 1699.

In the fulsome preface to the English king, contained both in *Nouvelle Découverte* and *A New Discovery*, Hennepin had again sought his intercession to secure an order for a Seeks to return to America. renewal of his missionary labors in America. The father claims that the king's solicitation on his behalf obtained for him what he desired — "leave to go Missionary into America, and to continue in one of the United Prov-

inces, till I had digested into Order the Memoires of my Discovery." It would appear that in 1699 he had either won from his superiors the coveted permission, or was in a fair way to secure it; for we find Louis XIV ordering the governor of New France to arrest the obnoxious Recollect in case of his appearance there, and send him home.

Our last trace of Father Hennepin is in a letter written from Rome the first of March, 1701, wherein the writer, one Dubos, mentions that the friar, now in his sixty-first or sixty-
The last trace. second year, was then in a convent in that city, hoping soon to return to America, under the protection of Cardinal Spada. Certain it is that our author never went upon this mission; but what adventures befell him in his later years, or when or where he died, we know not.

A mendicant friar, Father Hennepin was consumed by an unconquerable passion for worldly adventure, and thereby
Character-ization. became estranged from his ecclesiastical colleagues, who appear to have regarded their roving brother at first with suspicion and eventually with dislike. Early thrown into association with Frenchmen, he seems to have been regarded by them as a Flemish intruder, and finally was buffeted about by his enemies and thrown upon the bounty of Protestant England, practically a man without a country. Apparently hardy, brave, and enterprising, he was lacking in spiritual qualities, and no doubt possessed a captious temper which tended still further to alienate his companions. That he was a conceited braggart in private life as well as in his books, is evident from letters of the time — La Salle

wrote with warmth concerning the missionary's exaggerations.

The opportunities afforded this evangelist for connecting his name with an important enterprise of exploration were perhaps unexampled, save in the case of Marquette himself. His first book, as the annalist of the expedition, is that of a boaster, and nearly every incident therein is obviously over-colored. He arrogates to himself much that should have been credited to his companions; with surprising audacity he adopts a patronizing tone towards even such men as La Salle and Du Luth, and discredits their deeds, which were far greater than his own. The successors to the volume are, we have seen, marred by inexcusable and bungling mendacity, which shows the author to have been morally unfitted for the ecclesiastical calling—the judgment, apparently, of his own superiors, who, despite the marshalling of foreign influence in his behalf, prevented his return to the missionary field.

Nevertheless, when all is said, we must acknowledge Hennepin's works to be invaluable contributions to the sources of American history; they deserve study, and to this day furnish rare entertainment. We can pardon much in our erratic friar, when he leaves to us such monuments as these.

While seeking to reproduce the old text as closely as practicable, with its typographic and orthographic peculiarities, it has been found advisable here and there to make a few minor changes; these consist almost wholly of palpable blemishes, the result of negligent proof-reading—such as turned letters, transposed letters, slipped letters, and mis-spacings. Such corrections have been made

Exact reproduction.

without specific mention; in some instances, however, the original error has been retained, and in juxtaposition the correction given within brackets. We indicate, throughout, the pagination of the old edition which we are reprinting, by inclosing within brackets the number of each page at its beginning, *e.g.* [14]; in the few instances where pages were, as the fruit of carelessness in make-up, misnumbered in the original, we have given the incorrect as well as the correct figure, *e.g.* [26, *i.e.* 126].

In the preparation of Notes for this reprint edition of the second London issue of 1698, the Editor has been fortunate in securing the coöperation of his competent assistant upon the *Jesuit Relations*, Miss Emma Helen Blair, chief of the Division of Maps and Manuscripts in the Wisconsin State Historical Library. He is also under obligations to Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of Lenox Library, New York, for the admirable Bibliographical Data published herewith—the first accurate bibliography of Hennepin which has thus far been published.

Aid acknowledged.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., April, 1903.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

By VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

THE bibliography of the works of Father Louis Hennepin, in their various editions, translations, and ramifications, is a stumbling-block which has grounded more than one unwary bibliographer. The data presented here are offered as a "setting" to the present edition. This is not the place to discuss the voluminous controversial literature which, from Hennepin's day to ours, has agitated the name or the fame of this Recollect author.

Search for information about Hennepin by a querist to the *Historical Magazine* for 1857, p. 244, inspired several replies—in vol. i, pp. 316, 317, by Samuel H. Parsons; pp. 346, 347, by John Russell Bartlett; and vol. ii (1858), pp. 24, 25, by E. B. O'Callaghan and James Lenox. These contributions, merely hints or outlines, are ill-digested and inaccurate. They deserve mention because they were, perhaps, the stimuli toward subsequent quest in the matter.

Henry Harrisse, in his *Notes sur la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1872), described the seventeenth-century French editions and translations which were known to him. He is reasonably correct, judged from the plan which he adopted for his descriptions, but a number of mistakes have been discovered; and his plan is not sufficiently elaborate for the fastidious

accuracy required in modern scientific bibliography. I do not, however, wish to convey the impression of captious criticism of Mr. Harris, who as a pioneer paved the way for others, and whose many painstaking and scholarly publications have placed Americanists forever in debt to him.

In 1876, the section of Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, embracing Hennepin, appeared. It was reissued separately as *A List of the Editions of the Works of Louis Hennepin and Alonso de Herrera* (New York: J. Sabin & Sons, 1876), as a "specimen" of the *Dictionary*, "intended to exhibit the thorough manner in which the work is performed." Sabin's article on Hennepin was fairly good work for his day in America; and, hitherto, every bibliographer has resorted to him, not always with full acknowledgment. But his method of collating was unsatisfactory; he committed quite a number of egregious mistakes; failed to record certain extant editions, and erroneously included others that never existed.

In 1880, John Gilmary Shea prefixed a "Bibliography of Hennepin" to his translation of Hennepin's *Louisiane*, pp. 382-392, which was also reissued as a separate pamphlet in a small edition. He used Sabin, and at times had the assistance of the late George H. Moore. Nevertheless he is responsible for some of the worst bibliographical bulls with which this subject is overburdened. They were copied, extended, and perpetuated by others, notably Winsor, Remington, and Dionne.

On September 6, 1880, the late Edward D. Neill presented a paper on *The Writings of Louis Hennepin* to the monthly meeting of the Department of American History of the Minnesota Historical Society (10 pp.), which merely touches the bibliographical side of his works, and treats them critically as to text. He finds against their author, whom he charges anew with being "deficient in Christian manhood."

John Russell Bartlett described the Hennepins in The John Carter Brown Library at Providence, in the printed Catalogue of that Library, second edition of part ii (Providence, 1882), and part iii (Providence, 1870). Of the former 100 copies were printed for private circulation, and of the latter only fifty. They are not easily available, and command good prices in the book-market. His work is also faulty.

In vol. iv (copyrighted 1884), pp. 247-256, of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Justin Winsor presented a bibliography under the heading, "Father Louis Hennepin and his real or disputed discoveries." It is merely a compilation from Harrisse, Sabin, Shea, and booksellers' and library catalogues; it may be termed a *résumé* embodying the mistakes of others, with the addition of errors of its own.

In 1891, Cyrus Kingsbury Remington published *The Ship-Yard of the Griffon . . . together with the most complete bibliography of Hennepin that has ever been made in any one list* [etc.]. His Hennepin bibliography covers pp. 51-74; shows very few evidences of original research, and is unique in its field for the linguistic havoc to which the French, Dutch,

German, and other foreign languages have been subjected during transcription of the title-pages. A second edition of Remington's monograph was issued at Buffalo in 1893. His bibliography also forms pp. 55-75 of the *Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara*, printed at Albany in 1893. These later publications are no improvement of that of 1891.

N. E. Dionne, of Quebec, was the last to take up the subject, in his *Hennepin, ses Voyages et ses Œuvres* (Quebec: Raoul Renault, 1897. Royal 8vo, pp. 40), of which only 150 copies were printed. He has culled from Harris, Sabin, Shea, and others, but does not refer to Remington. Dionne's titles are not lined, and his collations are inaccurate and uncritical.

Scattered data appear in many historical and bibliographical books, as well as in library and booksellers' catalogues.

A futile attempt at a chronological check-list was made by Philéas Gagnon in his *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne* (Quebec, 1895), p. 224.

In the following data the original French editions and the English versions of 1698 and 1699 are given elaborate treatment. Subsequent French editions, translations, and abridgments are summarized. The descriptions in every case are from the books themselves. The absence of editions in this summary, which had been included in any of the above-mentioned bibliographies, is not evidence of incompleteness. It augurs rather that such editions do not exist.

I—LOUISIANE.

Description | de la | Louisiane, | nouvellement decouverte
 | au Sud' Oüest de la Nouvelle France, | par ordre du Roy.
 | Avec la Carte du Pays : Les Mœurs | & la Maniere de vivre
 | des Sauvages. | Dediée a Sa Majesté | Par le R. P. Louis
 Hennepin | Missionnaire Recollet & | Notaire Apostolique.
 | [*Monogram of Amable Auroy*] |

A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Sebastien Huré, ruë | Saint
 Jacques, à l'Image S. Jérôme, | près S. Severin. | M. DC.
 LXXXIII. | Avec Privilege du Roy. |

Collation — Title, verso blank, 1 leaf; epistle "Au Roy,"
 pp. (8); "Extrait du Privilege du Roy," pp. (2); text of the
 "Description," pp. [1] — 312; text of "Les Mœurs des
 Sauvages," pp. [1] — 107; verso of p. 107 blank. Signatures:
 ã in six, A in eight, B in four, C in eight, D in four, E in
 eight, F in four, G in eight, H in four, I in eight, K in four,
 L in eight, M in four, N in eight, O in four, P in eight, Q
 in four, R in eight, S in four, T in eight, V in four, X in
 eight, Y in four, Z in eight, Aa in four, Bb in eight, Cc in
 four, A in eight, B in four, C in eight, D in four, E in eight,
 F in four, G in eight, H in four, I in six (but some copies
 may end with two blank leaves, completing the signature in
 eight). The heading and pagination of p. 223 are imperfectly
 printed in some copies. On p. 63 of the "Mœurs" the orna-
 ment at top is incomplete. Sig. Eiiij is misprinted Biiij, and
 C and Cij (pp. 25-28 of part ii) are misprinted B and Bij.

The "Privilege" is dated "3 Septembre 1682," and the registry "le 10. Septembre 1682." The following note appears at the end of the "Privilege": "Achevé d'imprimer pour la première — | re fois, le 5. Janvier 1683."

A map "inue. et fecit" by N. Guerard, "Roussel scripsit," measures 11½ by 19 inches, and is entitled: Carte | de la | Nouvelle France | et de la | Louisiane | Nouuellement decouverte | dédiée | Au Roy | l' An 1683. | Par le Reuerend Pere | Louis Hennepin | Missionnaire Recollect | et Notaire Apostolique. | The watermark in the paper of the map is a bunch of grapes.

One of the copies in the New York Public Library, formerly George Bancroft's, has "John Penington & Son. | Philadelphie," | stamped under the imprint of the title-page. This has, however, no bibliographical significance, having been added at a very late day.

1684—FRENCH.

In 1684 there was a reissue of the same sheets, but with an entirely new title-page, having the following imprint:

A Paris, | Chez Amable Auroy, ruë | Saint Jacques, à l'Image S. Jérôme, | Proche la fontaine S. Severin. | M. DC. LXXXIV. | Avec Privilege, du Roy. |

The publisher had married the widow of Huré, and it is a curious fact that the monogram of Amable Auroy occurs on the title-pages of both issues, notwithstanding the disparity of the imprints.

1688 — FRENCH.

This is an entirely new edition, evidently set up after one of the earlier issues, but embodying typographical and verbal changes, such as capitalization, spelling, and changes in the form of place-nomenclature. The publisher is Amable Auroy. At the end of the "Privilege" this information is given: "Achevé d'imprimer pour la fecon — | de fois, le 10. Mars 1688. | De l' Imprimerie de Laurent | Rondet." | The map is the same plate as in the first edition.

1720 — FRENCH.

A little tract of 45 pp., by "M. le chevalier de Bonrepos," is usually considered as an abridgment of Hennepin's *Louisiane*. It was published at Rouen and Paris in 1720.

LOUISIANE — *Translations.**Italian* —

1686 — Descrizione della Lvigiana. The imprint is: In Bologna, per Giacomo Monti. 1686. | Con licenza de' Superiori. | The John Carter Brown Library has an uncut copy.

1691 — Abridgment in vol. ii, pp. 423-455 of "Il Genio Vagante Biblioteca curiofa," printed at Parma.

Dutch —

1688 — Beschryving van Louisania (Engraved title: Ontdekking van Louisania). The imprint is: t'Amsterdam, | By Jan ten Hoorn, Boekverkooper over't Oude | Heeren Logement, in de Histori-Schryver. A. 1688. |

German—

1689—Beschreibung Der Landschafft Lovisiana. The imprint is: Nürnberg, In Verlag Andreä Otto 1689. |

1692—Sabin is authority for an edition of this date, which very likely does not exist.

English—

1880—A Description of Louisiana. New York: John G. Shea, 1880.

II—NOUVELLE DECOUVERTE.

Nouvelle | Decouverte | d'un tres grand | Pays | Situé dans l'Amerique, | entre | Le Nouveau Mexique, | et | La Mer Glaciale, | Avec les Cartes, & les Figures neceffaires, & de plus | l'Histoire Naturelle & Morale, & les avantages, | qu'on en peut tirer par l'établiffement des Colonies. | Le tout dedie | à | Sa Majesté Britannique. | Guillaume III. | Par le | R. P. Louis Hennepin, | Missionnaire Recollect & Notaire Apostolique. |

A Utrecht, | Chez Guillaume Broedelet, | Marchand Libraire. MDCXCVII. |

Collation.—Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; dedication to King William III, pp. (23); "Avis au Lecteur," pp. (26); "Table des Chapitres," pp. (19); text, pp. [1]—312, ten pages with star 313 inserted, 313–506. Signatures: *—*** in twelves, A—N in eights, O* (with binder's instructions "Ces fuellets doivent s'inferer entre N. & O") in five, O—X in twelves, Y in one. Q4 is misprinted Q7.

Plates.—At p. 44, view of Niagara Falls; p. 187, the Buffalo. Map entitled, “Carte | d’un tres grand | Pays | entre le | Nouveau Mexique | et la | Mer Glaciale | Dediée a | Guiliaume III^e. | Roy de la Grand Bretagne | Par le R. P. | Louis de Hennepin | Miffion: Recol: et Not: Apoft: | Chez G. Broedelet | a Utreght” | It measures 20½ by 17 inches, and was “del. et fecit” by J. V. Vianen. Map entitled, “Carte | d’un tres grand Pais | Nouvellement decouvert | dans | l’Amerique Septentrionale | entre le | Nouveau Mexique et la | Mer Glaciale | avec le Cours du Grand Fleuve | Meschasipi | Dediée a Guiliaume III^e | Roy de la Grand Bretagne | Par le R. P. | Louis de Hennepin | Miffion: Recoll: et Not: Apoft: | Chez G. Broedelet | a Utreght.” | It measures 17½ by 14⅞ inches.

There has been some speculation by Shea and others as to whether certain parts of the volume were printed in another printing-office and with different type from that of the first 312 and ten star pages. We find the paper alike throughout. The change in the heading after p. 313 is also paralleled at intervals in the pages before p. 313, *e. g.* pp. 28–40, 66, 78–88, etc. This vagary has no special significance. Chapters 45–76 have their numbering printed in Arabic, while the preceding forty-four chapters were given in Roman numerals. But this does not prove that a different printing-office produced that part of the book. Curiously enough, the “Table des Chapitres” at the beginning of the volume observes this change from Roman to Arabic numeration, and omits any page reference whatever for the inserted star sig.

O, which would go to prove that the "Table" was printed after all the text was in shape to be tabulated. The type is the same in the text throughout, except the last page, which is printed with a smaller font to bring it within the page — not an unusual circumstance in books of the period. Altogether considered, the volume has evident traces of having been "built up" while in press. The author's "Avis au Lecteur" and other considerations would seem to indicate that he supervised the work personally.

1698 — FRENCH.

In 1698 a reprint was issued in Amsterdam, which followed the original edition rather closely, even going so far as to repeat the star signature and other individualities. The chapters, however, are all numbered in Roman numerals. The collation consists of the same number of pages, and the last page (506) is in type agreeing with the body of the text. Maps and plates agree with the 1697 edition, save that the imprint on the maps is changed. The imprint on the title-page reads thus:

"A Amsterdam, | Chez Abraham van Someren, | Marchand Libraire. MDCXCVIII." |

FRENCH EDITIONS.

1704 — Voyage ou Nouvelle Découverte (also La Borde's Voyage, with separate title). The imprint is: A Amsterdam,
| Chez Adriaan Braakman, Marchand Libraire près le Dam.
| M D CC IV. |

1704—Voyage Curieux (also La Borde's Voyage, with separate title). The main title has imprint: A La Haye, | Chez Jean Kitto, Marchand Libraire, dans | le Spuy-straet. 1704. | La Borde's title has imprint: A Leide | Chez Pierre vander Aa, | MDCC IV. | An issue also exists with this latter imprint on the main title-page, but with the date in Arabic numerals. Both varieties are in the John Carter Brown Library.

1711—Voyage Curieux (also La Borde). The title is folded in, and has the following imprint: A Amsterdam, | Aux depens de la Compagnie. | M. DCCXI. |

1712—Voyage Où nouvelle Découverte. A Amsterdam, | Chez Jacques Desbordes, Libraire vis-à-vis | la Grande Porte de la Bourfe, 1712. |

1737—In vol. ix of Jean Frederic Bernard's "Recueil de Voiages au Nord." Amsterdam.

1737—In vol. 2, pp. 223-373, and table of chapters pp. (3), of Garcilasso de la Vega's "Histoire des Yncas," with imprint: A Amsterdam, | Chez Jean Frederic Bernard, | MDCCXXVII. | The date is a misprint for 1737.

NOUVELLE DECOUVERTE — *Translations.*

Dutch —

1699—Nieuwe Ontdekkinge. The imprint is: Tot Amsterdam, | By Abraham van Someren. 1699. |

1702—Nieuwe Ontdekkinge. The imprint is: Tot Amsterdam, | By Andries van Damme, | Boekverkooper op't Rokkin bezyden de Beurs, 1702. |

1704 — Aenmerkelyke Voyagie. The imprint is: Te Leyden, | By Pieter vander Aa, 1704. | It is usually found in the collection entitled: "De Gedenkwaardige West-Indise Voyagien." Leyden: Pieter vander Aa, 1704.

1704 — Aanmerkelyke Voyagie. The imprint is: Te Rotterdam. | By Barent Bos Boekverkooper 1704. | It is usually found in the collection entitled: "De Gedenkwaardige West-Indise Voyagien." Rotterdam: Barent Bos, 1704.

German —

1699 — Neue Entdeckung. The imprint is: Bremen, | In Verlegung Philip Gottfr. Saurmans, Buchh. 1699. |

1739 — Neue Reise=Beschreibung. Nürnberg, 1739. | In Verlag Christ. Friedr. Feifse. |

Spanish —

1699 — An abridgment entitled: "Relacion de un Pais," with imprint: En Brusselas, | En Casa de Lamberto Marchant, | Mercader de Libros. | M. DC. XCIX. |

English —

[1720] — An abridgment entitled: "A Discovery of a Large, Rich, and Plentiful Country," with imprint: London: | Printed for W. Boreham, at the Angel in | Pater-Noster Row. (Price Six Pence.) |

III — NOUVEAU VOYAGE.

Nouveau | Voyage | d'un Pais plus grand que | l'Europe
| Avec les reflections des entreprises du Sieur | de la Salle,
sur les Mines de St. Barbe, &c. | Enrichi de la Carte, de

figures expreffives, des mœurs | & manieres de vivre des Sauvages du Nord, | & du Sud, de la prise de Quebec Ville Capital- | le de la Nouvelle France, par les Anglois, & des | avantages qu'on peut retirer du chemin recourci | de la Chine & du Japon, par le moien de tant | de Vastes Contrées, & de Nouvelles Colonies. | Avec approbation & dedié à fa Majesté | Guillaume III. | Roy de la grande | Bretagne | par le | R. P. Louis Hennepin, | Miffionaire Recollect & Notaire Apoftolique. |

A Utrecht, | Chez Antoine Schouten, | Marchand Libraire. 1698. |

Collation.—Title, verso blank, 1 leaf; dedication, pp. (20); "Preface," pp. (38); "Table des Chapitres," pp. (10); one blank leaf; text, pp. [1]–389; verso of p. 389 blank. Signatures: *—*** in twelves, A—Q in twelves, R in three (copies in original binding probably have a blank leaf, completing R in four). No mispaging.

Plates.—Engraved and designed by "I. van Vianen"; p. 19 "Avantures mal heureufes du Sicur de la Salle"; p. 73 "Le Sicur de la Salle mal-heureufemet [*sic*] affafiné"; p. 204 "Cruautéz in-oüies des fauvages Iroquois"; p. 343 "Prife de Quebeek [*sic*] par les Anglois." Map entitled, "Carte | d'un nouveau | Monde, | entre le nouveau | Mexique, | et la mer Glaciale | Novellement decouvert par le | R. P. Louis de Hennepin | Misfionaire Recolleet [*sic*] natif d'Aht. | en Hainaut | dediée a fa Majesté | Britanique, le Roy | Guilaume Troifieme." It measures 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and was engraved by "Gasp : Bouttats."

There is also an issue of 1698 with the imprint "Utrecht, chez Ernestus Voskuyl, Imprimeur, 1698." It is very uncommon, and is known to me only from Félix van Hulst's *Notice sur Le P. Hennepin d'Atb*: Liège, 1845, p. 36; and from a copy offered for sale in the spring of 1902 by a Jesuit in France, in correspondence with Mr. Thwaites.

FRENCH EDITIONS.

1720—Voyage en un Pays plus grand que l'Europe. Embraces pp. 199–381 of Relations | de la | Louisiane, | et du | Fleuve | Mississipi. | Où l'on voit l'état de ce grand Païs & | les avantages qu'il peut produire &c. | [*Cut*] | A Amsterdam, | Chez Jean Frederic Bernard, | M. D CC. XX. | The John Carter Brown Library has this volume in two states, one with the title in black, the other with three lines in red.

1734—In Bernard's *Voyages*, published at Amsterdam, vol. v (called "Troisième édition"). There are, perhaps, Bernard editions of other dates than the above.

NOUVEAU VOYAGE — *Translations.**Dutch*—

1698—Aenmerckelycke Historische Reys-Beschryvinge. The imprint is: Tot Utrecht, | By Anthony Schouten. 1698. |

German—

1698—Neue Reise-Beschreibung. The imprint is: Bremen. | In verlegung Phil. Gottfr. Saurmans, | 1698. |

1742—Reisen und seltsahme Begebenheiten. Bremen, | bey Nathanael Saurmann, 1742. |

COMPOSITE ENGLISH EDITIONS.

There are two distinct English editions of 1698; the first we designate as the "Bon- | " edition, and the second (the one herein reprinted) the "Tonfon, | " edition; naming them after the ending of the first imprint line of their respective title-pages. There is only one edition of 1699.

The text-page of the Bon- | edition measures $6\frac{1}{8}$ by $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and the Tonfon, | edition $6\frac{5}{8}$ by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The translations of the 1698 editions at times vary considerably; the 1699 edition seems to follow closely the text of the Tonfon, | edition, with changes, however, in capitalization and spelling.

1698 — BON- | EDITION.

A | New Discovery | of a | Vast Country in America, | Extending above Four Thousand Miles, | between | New France and New Mexico. | With a | Description of the Great Lakes, Cata- | racts, Rivers, Plants, and Animals: | Also, The Manners, Customs, and Languages, of the | severall Native Indians; And the Advantage of | Commerce with those different Nations. | With a | Continuation: | Giving an Account of the | Attempts of the Sieur De la Salle upon the | Mines of St. Barbe &c. The Taking of | Quebec by the English; With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to China and Japan. | Both Parts Illustrated with Maps and Figures, | and Dedicated to His Majesty K. William. | By L. Hennepin, now Resident in Holland. | To which is added, Several New Discoveries in North- | America, not publish'd in the French Edition. |

London: Printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonfon, H. Bon- |
wick, T. Goodwin, and S. Manſhip. 1698. |

Collation.—Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface," pp. (4); "Contents of the Chapters," pp. (8); text of "A New Discovery," pp. 1-299; verso of p. 299 blank; title to "A Continuation of the New Discovery," with verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (9); blank (1); "The Preface," pp. (16); "A Table of the Chapters," pp. (4); text headed "A Voyage through a Vaſt Country Larger than Europe," pp. 1-178; half-title: "An Account of ſeveral New Discoveries in North-America," with verso blank, 1 leaf; text, pp. 303-355; verso of p. 355 blank. Signatures: A in eight, a in four, B—T in eights, V in ſix, Aa in ſix, Bb—Ee in eights, *ee in two, Ff—Nn in eights, Oo in three, and two leaves carried over and completing V (given above) in eight, X—Z in eights, Aa in two (perhaps belonging to the preceding ſig. Aa to complete it in eight). Miſpaging: Part i, pp. 94 and 95 tranſpoſed; 202 and 203 are given as 102 and 103, reſpectively; 206 as 109; 207 as 107. Part ii, pp. 45-48 are duplicated by inſertion of ſig. *ee between Ee and Ff; ſome copies have 91 miſpaged 81, and others have the numeral "1" ſuperior to the "9"; 131 miſpaged 141. In part ii, chapter-heading xxiii is in ſome copies miſprinted xxii. The "Continuation" is printed with a ſmaller type than the remainder of the volume. This is an inſert between the blank p. 300 of the "New Discovery" and the half-title called "An | Account | of ſeveral | New Discoveries | in | North-Amer-

ica." The addition of the "Continuation" evidently was an afterthought, as its erratic position and the difference of the typography both amply show. The plates in part ii are not as good art as in the Tonson 1698 edition, *q. v.* for details.

Plates.—Part i, p. 29, View of Niagara Falls; p. 114, Buffalo. Part ii, p. 9, "The unfortunate Adventures of the Sieur de la Salle"; p. 33, "The Sieur de la Salle unhappily assassinated"; p. 89, "Vnheard of Crueltys of the Iroquois"; p. 157, "Taking of Quebec by the English." Also "A Map of a Large Country Newly Discovered in the Northern America," 17 by 14½ inches; and "A Map of A New World," 17½ by 10⅝ inches.

1698—TONSON, | EDITION.¹

A | New Discovery | of a | Vast Country in America, |
Extending above Four Thousand Miles, | between | New
France and New Mexico; | with a | Description of the Great
Lakes, Cata- | racts, Rivers, Plants, and Animals. | Also, the
Manners, Customs, and Languages of the fe- | veral Native
Indians; and the Advantage of Com- | merce with those
different Nations. | With a | Continuation, | Giving an Ac-
count of the | Attempts of the Sieur De la Salle upon the
| Mines of St. Barbe, &c. The Taking of | Quebec by the
English; With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to China
and Japan. | Both Parts Illustrated with Maps, and Figures,
| and Dedicated to His Majesty K. William. | By L. Hen-
nepin, now Resident in Holland. | To which are added,

¹The one followed in the present reprint.—ED.

Several New Discoveries in North- | America, not publish'd
in the French Edition. |

London, Printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonson, | H. Bon-
wick, T. Goodwin, and S. Manship. 1698. |

Collation.—Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top;
title, verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface,"
pp. (4); "Contents of the Chapters," pp. (8); text of "A
New Discovery," pp. 1-243; verso of p. 243 blank; title to
"A Continuation of the New Discovery," with verso blank,
1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface," pp. (15); "The
Contents," pp. (7); text headed "A Voyage into a Newly
Discover'd Country," pp. 1-184; "An Account of several
New Discoveries in North-America," pp. 185-228. Signatures:
A in eight, a in four, B—Q in eights, R in two; A in eight,
a in eight, B—M in eights, N in four, O and P in eights,
Q in six. In part i, pp. 186 and 206 are mispag'd 168 and
106, respectively; no mispaging in part ii.

Plates.—Part i, p. 24, View of Niagara Falls; p. 90, Buffalo.
Part ii, p. 9, "The Unfortunate adventures of Monsr. de la
Salle"; p. 33, "The Murther of Monsr. de la Salle"; p. 98,
"The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois"; p. 161, "The Tak-
ing of Quebec by The English." The two plates in part i
are the same as those in the Bon- | edition, except that the
page reference of each plate has been altered to conform to
this edition. The plates in part ii are superior to those in
the Bon- | edition, and all but one have the engraver's name,
"M. Vander Gucht Scul:". In this Tonson edition the plates

of part ii are reversed from those in the Bon- | edition. The two large folded maps are the same as in the Bon- | edition.

1699 EDITION.

A | New Discovery | of a | Vast Country in America, | Extending above Four Thousand Miles, | between | New France & New Mexico; | with a | Description [*sic*] of the Great Lakes, Cataracts, | Rivers, Plants, and Animals. | Also, the Manners, Customs, and Languages of the several | Native Indians; And the Advantage of Commerce with | those different Nations. | With a | Continuation | Giving an Account of the | Attempts of the Sieur de la Salle upon the | Mines of St. Barbe, &c. The Taking of Quebec | by the English; With the Advantages of a | shorter Cut to China and Japan. | Both Illustrated with Maps, and Figures; and Dedicated | to His Majesty King William. | By L. Hennepin now Resident in Holland. | To which are added, Several New Discoveries in North- | America, not Publish'd in the French Edition. |

London, Printed by for Henry Bonwicke, at the Red Lion | in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1699. |

Collation. — Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface," pp. (4); "The Contents of the Chapters," pp. (6); text of "A New Discovery," pp. 1-138, 155-170, 161-240 (total 234); title to "A Continuation of the New Discovery," with verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (6); "The Preface," pp. (11);

"The Contents," pp. (5); text headed "A Voyage into a Newly Discover'd Country," pp. 1-173; "An Account of several New Discoveries in North-America," pp. 174-216. Signatures: A—Hh in eights.

Plates. — These are the same as in the Tonson | 1698 edition, with the page references changed, and one plate shifted to part i from part ii. The six plates should be located thus: Part i, p. 22, View of Niagara; p. 51, "The Taking of Quebec by The English" (shifted in this edition, as above); p. 86, Buffalo. Part ii, p. 8, "The Unfortunate adventures of Mons^r. de la Salle"; p. 31, "The Murther of Mons^r. de la Salle"; p. 92, "The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois." The two maps are the same as in the 1698 editions.

A
New Discovery
OF A
Vast Country in AMERICA.

Extending above Four Thousand Miles,
BETWEEN

New France *and* New Mexico;
WITH A

Description of the Great Lakes, Cata-
raets, Rivers, Plants, and Animals.

Also, the Manners, Customs, and Languages of the fe-
veral Native Indians; and the Advantage of Com-
merce with those different Nations.

WITH A
CONTINUATION,

Giving an ACCOUNT of the
Attempts of the *Sieur De la SALLE* upon the
Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of
Quebec by the *English*; With the Advantages
of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*.

Both Parts Illustrated with *Maps*, and *Figures*,
and Dedicated to His Majesty *K. William*.

By *L. Hennepin*, now Resident in *Holland*.

To which are added, Several New Discoveries in North-
America, not publish'd in the *French* Edition.

L O N D O N, Printed for *M. Bentley*; *J. Tonson*,
H. Bonwick, *T. Goodwin*, and *S. Manship*. 1698.

[iii] TO

His most Excellent Majesty

WILLIAM III.

King of Great Britain, &c.

SIR,

THIS Account of the greatest DISCOVERY that has been made in this Age, of several Large Countries, situate between the *Frozen Sea* and *New Mexico*, I make bold humbly to Dedicate to your Majesty. Having liv'd Eleven Years¹ in the *Northern America*, I have had an Opportunity to penetrate farther into that Unknown Continent than any before me; wherein I have discover'd New Countries, which may be justly call'd the *Delights of that New World*. [iv] They are larger than *Europe*, water'd with an infinite number of fine Rivers, the Course of one of which is above 800 Leagues

¹ This is an exaggerated statement, for Hennepin in his *Louisiane* distinctly states that he returned to Canada, from his Western voyage, in 1681; and he clearly implies (pp. 309, 310) that he went back to France in the same year. As he first came to Canada with Bishop Laval (1675), his entire sojourn in America was but six years. Cf., however, his own explanation of this statement in section 4 of the Preface to part ii (our vol. ii) of the present work.—ED.

long, flock'd with all forts of harmleſs Beaſts, and other Things neceſſary for the Conveniency of Life; and bleſſ'd with ſo mild a Temperature of Air, that nothing is there wanting to lay the Foundation of one of the Greateſt Empires in the World.

I ſhould think my ſelf very happy, and ſufficiently rewarded for my Laborious Travels, if they could any ways contribute to make thoſe Countries better known, under the Glorious Name of Your Majeſty; and if through Your Royal Protection I might ſerve as Guide to your Subjects, to carry into thoſe Parts the Light of the Goſpel, and the Fame of your Heroical Virtues: My Name would be bleſſ'd amongſt thoſe numerous Nations, who live without Laws and Religion, only becauſe no body endeavours [v] to inſtruct them; and they would have the Happineſs of being converted to the Chriſtian Faith, and the Advantage of ſeeing at the ſame time, their Fierceneſs and rude Manners ſoftned and civiliz'd, by the Commerce of a Polite and Generous Nation, rul'd by the moſt Magnanimous King in the World.

This Enterprize is worthy of Your Majeſty, who never frames but Noble Deſigns, and purſues them with ſuch a Prudence and Vigour, that they are always crown'd with a Glorious Succeſs.

I dare not preſume to give here a particular Account of what Your Majeſty's unparallel'd Valour and Prudence have done for the Felicity of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the *United Provinces*; the Happineſs of your Kingdoms, and

the Mildnefs of Your Majesty's Government, proclaim that Truth to all the World, as alfo the Tranquillity of the *United Netherlands*, [vi] amidft a dreadful War, which ravages moft Parts of *Europe*. Your Majesty drove back a formidable Enemy, who had penetrated into their very Heart, and keeps him fince at fuch a diftance, that they have nothing to fear from his Ambitious Defigns.

The reft of *Europe* is no lefs indebted to Your Majesty than your own Kingdoms and the *United Netherlands*; for Your Majesty expofes every Year your Life, at the Head of your Armies and theirs, to proteét their Country and preferve their Liberties from a fatal Invaſion. The Allies know, and own with Gratitude, That Your Majesty's Prudence, and the great Reſpect which fo many Princes have for your Perſonal Merit, are the only Cement that was able to maintain the Great Alliance. into which *Europe* is enter'd for its Prefervation.

Your Majesty's Glorious Atchievements being a Theme above my Pen, [vii] I muſt not preſume to ſpeak of them; but my Religion obliges me to mention what I have ſeen with my own Eyes, and publiſh to all the World, That I have ſeen Your Majesty *Preſerving*, with the utmoſt Care, *Our Churches* in the *Netherlands*, while *Others*, who, by a Principle of Conſcience, were oblig'd to Proteét them, left them expos'd to the Infolence of their Soldiers, violating in the face of the Sun the Reſpect all Chriſtians owe them.

It is this great Generoſity and Equity of your Majesty,

as much as your other incomparable Exploits, which have gain'd you the Esteem and the Hearts of all Christian Princes, one alone excepted; and have engag'd the King of *Spain* my lawful Sovereign, the most Catholick Prince in the World, to make so strict an Alliance with Your Majesty.

That Great Monarch being too remote from the *Netherlands* to defend [viii] his Dominions, has found in Your Majesty a Valiant and Trusty Defender; who being seconded by the Invincible Elector of *Bavaria*, protects the *Spanish* Dominions against a Prince, who makes all Possible Efforts to deprive his Catholick Majesty thereof, notwithstanding their Proximity of Blood, and his professing the same Religion.¹

His Catholick Majesty having therefore so often experienc'd, that Your Majesty's Royal Word is more firm than other Princes Treaties and Solemn Oaths, could not also but leave his Dominions to your Disposal; shewing by that unparallel'd Piece of Trust, how much he relies upon Your Majesty's Honour, and what Esteem he has for your Royal Vertues, which are mix'd with no manner of Imperfections.

¹In 1689 William III of England had declared war against France, on account of the aid given by Louis XIV to the deposed king of England, James II. This was quickly followed by an alliance of the leading European powers against France, mainly inspired by their dread of Louis's growing ambition. This war, in which William was probably the most distinguished and influential of the allied princes, was finally terminated by the peace of Ryswick (October 30, 1697). The King of Spain at this time was Charles II; the heir to his crown was Ferdinand, elector of Bavaria, but that prince died on February 6, 1699.—ED.

I don't question but many, out of Envy or Malice, will blame me for entring into Your Majesty's Service; [ix] but I care very little for what they say, since it is by the Permission of his Catholick Majesty, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Superiours of my Order. I design to keep the Integrity of my Faith, and serve faithfully the Great Monarch who has honour'd me with his Royal Protection. I owe my Services to the Generous Protector of my Country, and of our Altars, who besides has so kindly receiv'd me at his Court, while other Princes neglected me, or forbad me their Prefence. It is then out of Gratitude, that I devote my self to Your Majesty's Service, and in order to contribute to the Conversion of the several Nations I have discover'd, and to the Advantage of your Subjects, if they will improve this Opportunity, and make Plantations in a Country, which is so fertile as to afford Two Crops every Year.

The Gentleman with whom I began this Discovery, had form'd great [x] Designs, and especially upon the Mines of *St. Barbe* in *New Mexico*; but his Tragical Death prevented their execution.¹

I humble beseech Your Majesty to accept this Publick

¹ A reference to the noted explorer, Robert Cavellier de la Salle, who was murdered by some of his own followers (March 19, 1687), while searching for the Mississippi River that he might secure aid for his starving colonists at Matagorda Bay, Texas.

The mines here mentioned were those of Santa Barbara, located in the San Bartolomé valley, in what is now Southern Chihuahua, Mexico—a region notable for the richness of its silver mines. A Spanish settlement was made there about 1563.—ED

Mark of my Respect and Gratitude; having pray'd the Almighty for the Preservation of Your Sacred Majesty's Person, and the Prosperity of your Reign, I beg leave to subscribe my self, with all the Submission and Respect imaginable,

S I R,

Your M A J E S T Y's

Most Humble, most Faithful, and

Most Obedient Servant,

F. Louis Hennepin,

*Missionary Recollect.*¹

¹ The Recollects (Fr. *Récollets*), thus termed because they devoted themselves to religious meditation (*récollection*), were the most austere of all the Franciscan orders. Missionaries from this order were brought to New France by Champlain in 1615, and labored among the Indian tribes until the seizure of Canada by the English in 1629, when both they and the Jesuits were sent back to France. The Recollects did not again enter Canada until 1670, when Talon brought over some of them, apparently to serve as a check on the Jesuits. Most of their work was among the French colonists, whom they often served as curés.—ED.

P R E F A C E.

I PRESENT here the Reader with the First Part of the Account of the Voyage I made from the Year 1679, to the Year 1682, in the Northern America; in which I discover'd a Country, unknown before me, as large or larger than Europe. I had resolv'd long ago to oblige the Publick with it; but my Resolution was prevented by some Reasons, which it would be too long to relate.

'Tis true, I publish'd part of it in the Year 1684, in my Account of Louisiana; Printed at Paris by Order of the French King; but I was then oblig'd to say nothing of the Course of the River Mefchafipi, from the Mouth of the River of the Illinois down to the Sea, for fear of disobliging M. la Salle, with whom I began my Discovery. This Gentleman wou'd alone have the Glory of having discover'd the Course of that River: But when he heard that I had done it two Years before him, he could never forgive me, though, as I have said, I was so modest [xii] as to publish nothing of it. This is the true cause of his Malice against me, and of all the barbarous Usage I have met with in France; which they carry'd so far, as to oblige the Marquis de Louvois to command me to depart the French King's Dominions; which I did willingly, tho' I saw sufficient Grounds to believe this Order was forg'd after Monsieur de Louvois was dead.

The pretended Reasons of that violent Order, were, because I

refused to return in-[to] America, where I had been already Eleven Years; tho' the particular Laws of our Order oblige none of us to go beyond-Sea against their Will. I would have however return'd very willingly, had I not sufficiently known the Malice of M. la Salle, who wou'd have expos'd me, to make me perish, as he did one of the Men who accompany'd me in my Discovery. God knows, that I am sorry for his unfortunate Death; but the Judgments of the Almighty are always just; for that Gentleman was kill'd by one of his own Men, who were at last sensible that he expos'd them to visible Dangers, without any Necessity, and for his private Designs.

I presented some time after a Petition to the French King, while he was encamp'd at Harlemont in Brabant, setting forth my Services, and the Injustice of my Enemies; but that Prince had so many Affairs, [xiii] that, I suppose, they hinder'd him from considering my Petition; and so I cou'd obtain no Satisfaction. I continu'd since at Gosseliers and Aeth; and just as they were raising another Persecution against me, the Divine Providence brought me acquainted with Mr. Blathwait, Secretary of War to his Majesty William the Third, King of Great Britain; who, by Order of His Majesty, wrote a Letter to Father Payez, General Commissary of our Order at Louvain, to desire him to give me leave to go Missionary into America, and to continue in one of the United Provinces, till I had digested into Order the Memoires of my Discovery. This General Commissary being informed that the King of Spain, and the Elektor of Bavaria consented that I shou'd enter into the Service of His Majesty of Great Britain, granted me what I desir'd, and sent me to Antwerp, to take there in our

Convent a Lay-Habit; and from thence I went into Holland, having receiv'd some Money from Mr. Hill, by Order of Mr. Blathwait.

I design'd to live at Amsterdam for some time; but some Reasons oblig'd me to go to Utrecht, where I finish'd this First Volume of the Account of my Discovery; which I hope will prove advantageous to Europe, [xiv] and especially to the English Nation, to whose Service I entirely devote my self.

I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the Favours of Mr. Blathwait, who has so generously provided for my Subsistence, and did me the Honour to present me to His Majesty before his Departure for England. I am also very much oblig'd to the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Athlone, for the Civilities I have receiv'd from them: They have often admitted me to their Table, and granted several Protections in Flanders upon my Recommendation.

I hope the Reader will be pleas'd with the Account of my Discovery; not for the Fineness of the Language, and the Nobleness of the Expression, but only upon Account of its Importance, and of the Sincerity wherewith 'tis written. The Bookseller has added a Map, and some other Cutts, which are an Ornament to the Book, and very useful for the better understanding of it.

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A
New Discovery
OF A
Country greater than *EUROPE*;
*Situated in America, betwixt New-Mexico
and the Frozen-Sea.*

The Occasion of undertaking this Voyage.

MEN are never weary of contemplating those Objects that are before their Eyes, because they discover a thousand ravishing Excellencies therein, capable to afford 'em both Satisfaction and Instruction. The Wonders they there meet with, are so surprizing, and (as it were) enchanting, that they are necessarily engaged to survey the same with all possible Exactness, in order to satisfy their natural Curiosity, and inform their Minds.

The Condition of Travellers is very near the same. They're never weary of making new Discoveries. They're indefatigable in rambling through unknown Countries and Kingdoms not mention'd [2] in History; feasting their Minds with the Satisfaction of gratifying and enriching the World with something unheard of and whereof they had never any Idea

before. 'Tis true, such Enterprizes expose 'em to infinite Fatigue and Danger: But herewith they solace themselves, and persevere to suffer all with Pleasure in that they hope to contribute thereby both to the publick Good, and to the glory of God, while at the same time they are gratifying their own natural Inclinations; and hence it is, they are so powerfully bent to make these Discoveries, to seek out strange Countries and unknown Nations, whereof they had never before heard of.

Those whose Aim in undertaking Voyages, is to enlarge the Bounds of Christ's Kingdom, and advance the Glory of God, do upon that Prospect alone valiantly venture their Lives, making 'em of no Account. They endure the greatest Fatigues, and traverse the most unpassable Ways and horrid Precipices, in order to the Execution of their Designs; being push'd on by the Hopes they entertain of Promoting by these means the Glory of him who created 'em, and under whose Conduct they undertake such toilsome Voyages.

It's usual to see some undaunted Men boldly encounter the most frightful of Deaths, both in Battles and in dangerous Voyages: they are such as are not discouraged by all the Hazards that surround 'em either by Sea or Land; nothing being able to withstand the Valour and Courage that prompts 'em to attempt any thing. Therefore is it, that we oftentimes see 'em succeed in obtaining their Designs, and compassing their most difficult Enterprizes. Yet it's to be acknowledg'd, that if they took a serious View before hand, of the Perils they're about to encounter, and consider'd 'em in cold Blood,

they would perhaps find Difficulty to persuade themselves into such resolute Thoughts; at least, they would [3] not form their Designs after such a daring and fearless manner. But generally speaking, they do not survey their Dangers beforehand, any otherwise than by the Lump, and with a transient View; and having once set their Hands to the Work, Occasion engages 'em insensibly, and entices 'em further on than they cou'd have believ'd at first. Insomuch that many of the great Discoveries owing to Voyages, are rather the Result of Chance, than any well form'd Design.

Something of the same Nature has happen'd to my self in the Discovery I now bring to Light. I was from my Infancy very fond of Travelling; and my natural Curiosity induc'd me to visit many Parts of *Europe* one after another. But not being satisfied with that, I found my self inclin'd to entertain more distant Prospects, and was eager upon seeing remoter Countries and Nations that had not yet been heard of; and in gratifying this natural Itch, was I led to this Discovery of a vast and large Country, where no *European* ever was before my self.

'Tis true indeed, I could not foresee the Embarrassing Difficulties and Dangers I must of necessity encounter with in this my painful Voyage. Nay, perhaps the very Thoughts of 'em might have discourag'd and scar'd me from attempting a Design so laborious and toilsome, and environ'd with such frightful Difficulties. But maugre all these Discouragements, I've at length perfected my Design, the Undertaking of which was enough to frighten any other but my self. In

which I've satisfy'd my Desires, both in regard to the curiosity I had to see new Countries, and strange Faces; and also upon the Account of my Resolution to employ and dedicate my self to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls.

Thus it was that I discover'd a wonderful Country never known till now; of which I here give an ample [4] Description; and (as I think) circumstantiated enough: It being divided into several small Chapters, for the Conveniency of the Reader. I hope the Publick will return me Thanks for my Pains, because of the Advantage that may accrue to it by the same. However the World's Approbation shall sufficiently recompense all the Trouble and Dangers I've gone through.

I am not insensible of the Reflections I shall meet with from such as never dar'd to travel themselves, or never read the Histories of the Curious and Brave, who have given Relations of the strange Countries they have taken upon them to see; I doubt not but that sort of Cattle will account of this my Discovery as being false and incredible. But what they say shall not trouble me much: They themselves were never Masters of the Courage and Valour which inspires Men to undertake the glorious Enterprizes that gain 'em Reputation in the World, being confin'd within narrow Bounds, and wanting a Soul to atchieve any thing that can procure 'em a distinguishing and advantageous Character among Men. It were better therefore for such to admire what they cannot comprehend, and rest satisfy'd in a wise and profound Silence, than thus foolishly to blame what they know nothing of.

Travellers are generally accus'd of venting an Infinity of

Lyes and Impostures: But Men of a magnanimous and firm Courage are above such silly Raileries: For when they've done all to blacken our Reputation, we shall still receive for our Reward, the Esteem and Approbation of Men of Honour, who being endow'd with knowing and penetrating Souls, are capable to give an equal and impartial Judgment of Travels, and of the just Merit of such as have hazarded their Lives for the Glory of God, and the Good of the Publick. It is this happy and agreeable Recompence that makes the daring Travellers [5] so valiantly expose themselves to all manner of Fatigues and Dangers, that by so doing, they may become useful to Mankind.

CHAP. I.

The Motives which engag'd the Author of this Discovery to undertake the Voyage, whereof you have here a Relation.

I ALWAYS found in my self a strong Inclination to retire from the World, and regulate my Life according to the Rules of pure and severe Virtue: and in compliance with this Humour, I enter'd into the *Franciscan Order*, designing to confine my self to an austere Way of Living. I was overjoy'd then, when I read in History the Travels and Voyages of the Fathers of my own Order, who indeed were the first that undertook Missions into any foreign Country. And oft-times represented to my self, that there could be nothing greater or more glorious than to instruct the Ignorant and Barbarous, and lead 'em to the light of the Gospel; and having remark'd, that the *Franciscans* had behav'd themselves in this Work with a great deal of Zeal and Success, I found this begat in my Mind a Desire of tracing their Footsteps, and dedicating my self after their Example, to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls.

In reading the History of our Order, I observ'd, that in a general Assembly held in the Year 1621, it was reckon'd, that since the first going of the Reverend Father *Martin de Valence* (one of our first Reformers) into *America*, there had been

five hundred Convents of Recollects, establish'd in that New World, and distributed into Two and twenty Provinces. As I advanc'd in Years, this Inclination to travel did so much the more fix it self in my Mind. It is true, [6] one of my Sisters that was marry'd at *Ghent*, and whom I lov'd very tenderly, did dissuade me from my Design as much as she could, and never ceas'd to redouble her Sollicitations to that purpose, while I had occasion to be with her in that great City, whither I had gone to learn the *Dutch* Language: But being sollicitated on the other hand, by many of my Friends at *Amsterdam*, to go to the *East-Indies*, my natural Inclination, join'd to the Influence of their Requests, did move me much, and had almost determin'd me to undertake a Sea-Voyage.

Seeing then that all the Remonstrances of my Sister could not dissuade me from travelling, I first undertook a Journey into *Italy*; and in Obedience to the Orders of my Superiour, visited all the great Churches, and most considerable Convents of our Order, both in that Country, and in *Germany*; which did in some measure gratifie the Curiosity of my Temper. But having return'd to the *Netherlands*, the Reverend Father *William Herinx*, late Bishop of *Ipres*, manifested his averfeness to the Resolution I had taken of continuing to travel, by detaining me in the Convent of *Halles* in *Hainault*, where I was oblig'd to perform the Office of Preacher for a Year. After which, with the Consent of my Superiour, I went into the Country of *Artois*, from whence I was sent to *Calais*, to act the part of a *Mendicant* there in time of Herring-falting.

Being there, I was passionately in love with hearing the

Relations that Masters of Ships gave of their Voyages. Afterwards I return'd to our Convent at *Biez*, by the way of *Dunkirk*: But I us'd oft-times to sculk behind the Doors of Victualling-Houses, to hear the Sea-men give an Account of their Adventures. The Smoak of Tobacco was offensive to me, and created Pain in my Stomach, while I was thus intent upon giving ear to their Relations: But for all I was very attentive to the Accounts they gave of [7] their Encounters by Sea, the Perils they had gone through, and all the Accidents which befell them in their long Voyages. This Occupation was so agreeable and engaging, that I have spent whole Days and Nights at it without eating; for hereby I always came to understand some new thing, concerning the Customs and Ways of Living in remote Places; and concerning the Pleasantness, Fertility, and Riches of the Countries where these Men had been.

This confirm'd me more and more in my former Resolution; and that I might advance it yet further, I went Missionary into most part of the Towns of *Holland*; and stopp'd at length at *Maſtreicht*, for eight Months together, where I administer'd the Sacraments to above Three thousand wounded Men: In which Occupation I ventur'd many Dangers among the Sick People, being taken ill both of a Spotted Fever and a Dyſenterie, which brought me very low, and near unto Death: But God at length reſtor'd me to my former Health, by the Care and Help of a very skilful *Dutch* Phyſician.

The ſingular Zeal I had for promoting the Good of Souls, engag'd me the Year following to be preſent at the Battle of

Seneffe, where I was buſied in adminiſtring Comfort to the poor wounded Men: Till at length, after having endur'd all manner of Fatigue and Toil, and having run the riſque of extreme Dangers at Sieges of Towns in the Trenches, and in Fields of Battel, (where I never ceas'd to expoſe my ſelf for the good of Mens Souls) while theſe bloody Men were breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, I happily found my ſelf in a condition to ſatiſſie my firſt Inclination: For I then receiv'd Orders from my Superiours to go for *Rocheſ*, in order to embark in Quality of Miſſionary for *Canada*. Within Two Leagues of that City I perform'd the Function of a Curate near two Months; being invited ſo to do by the Paſtor of the Place, who had occaſion [8] to be abſent from his Charge. But afterwards I totally reſign'd my ſelf to the Providence of God, and begun a Voyage of Twelve or Thirteen hundred Leagues over, and perhaps the greateſt that can be made by Sea.

I embark'd in the Company of Mr. *Francis de Laval*, created then Biſhop of *Petrée in partibus Infidelium*, and ſince Biſhop of *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*; and now my Inclination to travel increas'd more and more: Yet I ſtaid in that Country four Years, and was ſent thence in Miſſion, while the Abbot of *Fenelon*, preſent Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, reſided there.¹

¹The ſtatements of this paragraph are inexact. François de Laval de Montmorency had been biſhop of *Petræa* ſince 1658, and came to *Canada* in the following year as vicar apoſtolic of New France. Not until Oct. 1, 1674, was the ſee of *Quebec* erected, Laval being its firſt biſhop, a dignity which he held until his reſignation in 1685. Returning to *Canada* three years later, he ſpent the reſt of his life there, dying at *Quebec* May 6, 1708.

The Fénelon who labored in *Canada* was not the noted archbiſhop, but his

I shall not here recount the several Adventures of our Voyage, nor the Fights we were engag'd in with the Ships of *Turkey*, *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, who attempted several times to have taken us; but without success. Nor shall I stay to relate our Approach to *Cape Breton*, where we beheld with incredible Delight, the Battle ordinarily fought betwixt the Fishes call'd *Espadons* [swordfish] and the Whales, their mortal Enemies; neither am I to detain my Reader with an Account of what vast Quantities of Fish we took at Forty Fathom Water, upon the Great Bank of *New-found-Land*; or what great Numbers of Ships we rencounter'd with, that were bound thither from different Nations to fish in these Places, which afford such infinite Numbers of all manner of Fishes. These diverting Sightings were very agreeable to all our Crew, which was then about an Hundred Men strong, to three Fourths of whom I administered the Sacraments, they being Catholics. I perform'd likewise Divine Service every Day while the Weather was calm; and we sung the Itinerary of the Clergy, translated into *French* Verse, after the Evening Prayers.

[9] Thus we sweetly pass'd our Time a-board, 'till at length we arriv'd at *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*.

half-brother, François de Salignac, abbé de Fénelon. This priest, a Sulpitian, was a missionary among the Cayugas at Quinté Bay from 1668 to 1673. In the following year he was sent back to France by Frontenac, having incurred the governor's displeasure. — ED.

CHAP. II.

The Means by which the Author accusom'd himself to endure the Travail and Fatigue of his laborious Mission.

MR. *Francis de Laval*, Bishop of *Petrée*, having taken possession of the Bishoprick of *Quebec*, which was conferr'd upon him by Pope *Clement X.* and that contrary to the Sentiments of many Persons of Quality, who, by means of his Preferment, were frustrated of their own Pretensions: This Reverend Prelate (I say) having taken into consideration the Fervency of my Zeal in Preaching the Gospel in my Voyage, my assiduous Diligence in performing Divine Service, and the Care I had taken to hinder the Young Fellows of our Crew from keeping loose Company with the Women and Maids that came along with us (for which I had oft-times been rewarded with Anger and Hatred;) these Reasons, and such like, procur'd me the Favour and Applause of this Illustrious Prelate, he obliging me to preach in *Advent* and *Lent* to the Cloister of *St. Augustin*, in the Hospital of *Quebec*.

But in the mean while, all this did not satisfy my natural Inclination: I us'd oft-times to go some Twenty or Thirty Leagues off the Town to see the Country, wearing a little Hood, and making use of large Rackets,¹ without which I

¹ These were snowshoes, called by the Canadians *raquettes*.—ED.

had been in danger of falling headlong over fearful Precipices. Sometimes to ease my self a little, I made a great Dog I had brought with me, drag my little Baggage along, that I might arrive the sooner at *Trois Rivières*, *St. Anne*, and Cape *Tourmente*, *Bourgroyal*,¹ the *Point de Levi*, [10] and at the Island of *St. Laurence*,² whither I design'd to go. There I assembled together, in one of the largest Cottages of that Country, as many People as I could gather; whom in some time I admitted to Confession, and to the Holy Communion. In the Night-time I had nothing to cover me but a Cloak; and sometimes the Frost pierc'd to my very Bones, which oblig'd me to make a Fire five or six times in a Night, to prevent my freezing to death. My Commons also were very short, scarce more than to keep me from starving.

In the Summer-season I was oblig'd, in order to continue my *Mission*, to travel in Canou's, that is, a sort of little Boats (which I shall describe hereafter) that they make use of in Lakes and Rivers: Which sort of Contrivance succeeded well enough where the Water was shallow, or about two or three Foot deep; But when we came to any deeper Place, then the Boat, which was round underneath, was in danger of overturning, infomuch that I had certainly perish'd in the Water, had not I taken a circumspect Care of my self.

However, I found my self oblig'd to travel after this manner, for there were no passable Roads in this Country; it

¹ A small settlement near Quebec, probably at the entrance of Cap Rouge River, where Jacques Cartier wintered in 1541-2, calling his post Charlesbourg-Royal.—ED.

² A reference to Orleans Island.—ED.

being impossible to travel over-land in these new Colonies, because of that infinite number of Trees and Woods that beset them on all sides, which must needs be cut down or burn'd before any passable Way be made.

[11] CHAP. III.

A Description of those Canou's that they make use of in the Summer-time in America, for the Conveniency of travelling.

THESE Canou's are round underneath, as I said but now, and pointed at the two Ends, not unlike the *Venetian Gondals*: Without them it were impossible to travel in *America*, for the Country is full of vast and wide-extended Forests: Besides, the impetuous Winds sometimes pluck up the Trees by the Roots, and Time it self ranverses great numbers of 'em, which tumbling down through Age, are piled so one upon another, that the Ways are totally imbaras'd, and render'd unpaffable.

The Savages are very ingenious in making these Canou's: They make them of the Bark of Birch-Trees, which they pull very neatly off that sort of Trees, they being considerably bigger than those of *Europe*. They betake themselves to this Work generally about the end of Winter, in the vast Forests that lie towards the Northern Parts of these Countries.

For supporting this Bark they line it within with Ribs or Pieces of white Wood, or Cedar, about four Fingers broad; this they furbish up with small Poles made smooth, that make the Circumference of the Canou; then by other Poles going a-crofs, about an Inch, or an Inch and a half thick, which are

very smoothly polish'd; these they join on both sides to the Bark by small Roots of Trees cloven in two, not much unlike the Willows that we make our Baskets of in *Europe*.

These Canou's have no Rudder, as the bigger Shallops have, for they row them along merely by the [12] force of their Arms with some small Oars; and can turn them with an incredible swiftness, and direct them whither they list. Those that are accustom'd to manage them, can make 'em sail at a wonderful rate, even in calm Weather; but when the Wind is favourable, they are expedite to a Miracle; for they then make use of little Sails made of the same Bark, but thinner than that of the Canou's. As for the *Europeans*, that by long usage come to be well vers'd in this sort of Tackling, they make use of about four Ells of Linen Cloth, hoisted up on a little Mast, the Foot of which stands in a Hole made in a square piece of light Wood, that is fastned betwixt the Ribs and the Bark of the Canou's towards the Bottom.

Those that are well skill'd in managing these Canou's, can sail Thirty or Thirty five Leagues in a Day down a River, and sometimes more in Lakes, if the Wind be favourable: But some of 'em are much bigger than others. They carry generally about a Thousand pound Weight, some Twelve hundred, and the biggest not above Fifteen hundred pounds. The least of 'em can carry Three or four hundred pound weight, together with two Men or Women to steer them along. But the Greater must have Three or Four Men to manage them, and sometimes when Business requires Expedition, Seven or Eight to quicken their pace.

CHAP. IV.

Other Motives that induc'd the Author more forcibly to undertake this Discovery.

I WAS passionately zealous, in imitation of many Fathers of my Order, for enlarging the Limits of Christianity, and converting the barbarous *Americans* to the Belief of the Gospel; and in pursuance [13] of that Design, I look'd upon the Employment of a *Missionary* as a most Honourable Post for me; so that whenever I found the opportunity of a Mission, I willingly embrac'd it; tho' it oblig'd me to travel more than Twelve hundred Leagues off *Canada*: Yet I perswaded several to accompany me in my Voyage; and neglected not any thing that might tend to the furtherance of my Design.

At first, for a Trial I was sent in Mission about a Hundred and twenty Leagues beyond *Quebec*. I went up by the way of the River *St. Laurence*, and arriv'd at length at the brink of a lake call'd by the Natives *Ontario*, which I shall describe hereafter. Being there, I perswaded several of the barbarous *Iroquese*, to cultivate the Ground, and prepare some Wood for building a Lodge for us. Then I made them erect a Cross of an extraordinary heighth and bigness; and built a Chapel near to the Lake, and settled my self there, with another of my own Order, by Name, Father *Luke Buisset*, whom I had

induc'd to come along with me, and who died since in our *Franciscan* Convent upon the *Sambre*: I shall have occasion afterwards to speak of him, for that we cohabited in *Canada* for a long time, and were Fellow-Labourers in our Settlement at *Catarokouy*¹; which was the Place where we oft-times concerted the Measures of making this Discovery I am about to relate. I there gave my self much to the reading of Voyages, and increas'd the Ambition I had to pursue my Design, from what Light the Savages imparted to us in that matter: In fine, I plainly perceiv'd by what Relations I had receiv'd of several Particulars in different Nations, that it was a matter of no great difficulty to make considerable Establishments to the South-East of the great Lakes; and that by the convenience of a great River call'd *Hoio* [Ohio], which passes through the Country of the *Iroquese*, a Passage might be made into the Sea at Cape *Florida*.

[14] While I resided in that place, I made several little Tours, sometimes with the Inhabitants of *Canada*, that we had brought along to settle at our Fort of *Catarokouy*; sometimes in company of the Savages alone, with whom I convers'd frequently. And as I foresaw that the *Iroquese* might become jealous and suspicious of our Discoveries, I resolv'd to make a Tour round their Five Cantons; and in pursuance of this Design, threw my self among 'em, being accompany'd only with a Soldier of our Fort, who travell'd with me Seventy Leagues, or near the Matter, on this Occasion; we having our

¹ The Iroquois name of the place where Frontenac built, in 1673, the fort long called by his name, on the site of the present city of Kingston, Ont.—Ed.

Feet arm'd with large Rackets, to prevent the Injury of the Snow, which abounds in that Country in time of Winter.

I had already acquir'd some small knowledge of the *Iroquefe* Language; and while I travell'd in this manner among them, they were surpriz'd to see me walk in the Midst of Snow, and lodge my self in the wild Forests that their Country is full of. We were oblig'd to dig four Foot deep into the Snow, to make Fire at Night, after having journey'd Ten or Twelve Leagues over-day. Our Shoes were made after the Fashion of those of the Natives, but were not able to keep out the Snow, which melted as soon as our Feet touch'd it, it having receiv'd heat from the motion of us walking along. We made use of the Barks of Trees to cover us when we went to sleep; and were carefully solicitous to keep in great Fires to defend us from the nipping Colds. In this lonesome Condition spent we the Nights, waiting the welcome return of the Sun, that we might go on in our Journey. As for Food, we had none, save the *Indian* Corn grinded small, which we diluted with Water, to make it go down the better.

Thus we pass'd through the Countries of the *Honnebiouts* and *Honnontages*,¹ who gave us a very kind [15] reception,

¹ The tribes included in the Iroquois League (called by themselves "the Long House" or "the Five Cabins," and by English writers usually "the Five Nations") were thus located: The westernmost and largest were the Senecas (Tsonnontouans); their principal villages were at the present Mendon and Victor, N. Y. Next were the Cayugas (Oïogouins, or Goyogouins), near Savannah and Union Springs. The Onondagas (Onnontaës, Honnontages) were the central and most influential of these tribes, near Manlius and Jamesville. East of them were the Oneidas (Onneiouts, Honnehiouts), in Madison county. Finally came the Mohawks (called by the French Agniers or Aniës), occupying the lower part of the Mohawk River valley; these were apparently the fiercest, most implacable, and most treacherous of the five tribes. For

and are the most Warlike People of all the *Iroquefe*. When they saw us, they put their Forefingers to their Mouths signifying how much surpris'd they were at the troublesome and difficult Journey we had made in the middle of Winter. Then looking upon the mean and mortifying Habit of St. *Francis*, they cry'd aloud, *Hetchitagon!* that is, Bare-foot; and did with all manner of passion and astonishment pronounce the Word *Gannoron*; intimating, that it must needs have been a Business of great Importance that mov'd us to attempt such a difficult Journey at so unseasonable a time.

These Savages regal'd us with Elk and Venison, dress'd after their own fashion, which we eat of, and afterwards took leave of 'em, going further on in our Journey. When we departed, we carry'd our Bed-cloaths on our Backs, and took with us a little Pot to boyl their Corn in. We pass'd through Ways that were overflown with Water, and such as wou'd have been unpassable by any *European*: For when we came at vast Marshes and overflowing Brooks, we were oblig'd to crawl along by the Trees. At length with much difficulty we arriv'd at *Ganniekez*, or *Agniez*, which is one of the Five Cantons of the *Iroquefe*, situated about a large Day's Journey from *New-Holland*, call'd now *New-York*: Being there, we were forc'd to season our *Indian* Corn (which we were wont to bruize betwixt two Stones) with little Frogs that the Natives gather'd in the Meadows towards *Easter*, when the Snow was all gone.

more detailed information regarding these peoples, see *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites's edition—the one cited throughout these notes), viii, pp. 293, 297–301; and li, pp. 293–295 (with map).—ED.

We stay'd some time among these People, lodging with a *Jesuite* that had been born at *Lions*, to transcribe an *Iroquese* Dictionary.¹ When the Weather began to be more favourable, we chanc'd one day to meet with three *Dutch*-men on Horse-back, who had come thither to traffick in Beavers Skins: They were sent thither by Major *Andrews*, who is [16] the Person that subdu'd *Boston* and *New-York* for the King of *England*, and is at present Governour of *Virginia*.²

These Gentlemen alighted from their Horses, that we might mount 'em, taking us along with them to *New-Orange* to be regal'd there. As soon as they heard me speak *Dutch*, they testify'd a great deal of Friendship to me, and told me they had read several Histories of the Discoveries made by those of our *Franciscan* Order in the Northern Parts of *America*, but had never before seen any wear the Habit in these Countries as we did. They likewise express'd the great Desire they had to have me stay among them, for the Spiritual Comfort and Advantage of many Catholicks who had come from our *Netherlands*, and settled there: And I should very willingly have yielded to their Intreaties in residing there, but that I was afraid of giving any Jealousie to the *Jesuites*, who had receiv'd me very Kindly; and besides, I was aware of [their] injuring the Colony of *Canada*, in respect to the

¹ Apparently a reference to Jacques Bruyas, a missionary among the Iroquois from 1667 until his death in 1712. He was an able linguist, and left a MS. grammar of the Mohawk language, the oldest known to exist. This was published by the regents of the University of New York, in their *Sixteenth Annual Report of State Cabinet* (Albany, 1863), pp. 3-123.—ED.

² Sir Edmund Andros, long the governor of New York colony, and later of Virginia.—ED.

Commerce they had with the Savages of my Acquaintance in Beavers and Skins. We therefore having testified how much oblig'd we were to the Gentlemen for their Kindness, return'd again to *Catarokouy* with much less difficulty than we went. But all this had no other effect than to augment the Itching I had to discover remoter Countries.

CHAP. V.

A Description of Fort Catarokouy, call'd since Fort Frontenac.

THIS Fort is situated a Hundred Leagues from *Quebec* (the Capital City of *Canada*) up the River *St. Laurence* Southwards. It is built near to the [17] Place where the Lake *Ontario* (which is as much as to say, the pretty Lake¹) discharges it self. It was furrounded with a Rampart, great Stakes and Palifado's, and four Bastions, by the Order of Count *Frontenac*, Governour-General of *Canada*. They found it necessary to build this Fort for a Bulwark against the Excursions of the *Iroquese*, and to interrupt the Trade of Skins that these Savages maintain with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and the *Hollanders*, who have settled a new Colony there; for they furnish the Savages with Commodities at cheaper Rates than the *French* of *Canada*.

The *Iroquese* are an Insolent and barbarous Nation, that has shed the Blood of more than Two millions of Souls in that vast-extended Country. They would never cease from disturbing the Repose of the *Europeans*, were it not for fear of their Fire-Arms: For they entertain no Commerce with

¹ Many writers say that the word *Ontario* means "beautiful lake"; but Horatio Hale thinks that its original signification was "great lake" (*Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 176).—ED.

them, save in the Merchandise-Goods they stand in need of, and in Arms, which they buy on purpose to use against their Neighbours; and by the means of which, they have compass'd the Destruction of an infinite Number of People, extending their bloody Conquest above 5 or 600 Leagues beyond their own Precincts, and exterminating whatever Nations they hate.

This Fort, which at first was only furrounded with Stakes, Palifado's, and earthen Ramparts, has been enlarg'd since the commencement of my Mission into these Countries, to the circumference of Three hundred and sixty Toises (each of these being six Foot in length¹) and is now adorn'd with Free-Stone, which they find naturally polish'd by the shock of the Water upon the brink of the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*. They wrought at this Fort with so much diligence and expedition, that in two Years time it was advanc'd to this perfection, by the Care and Conduct of *Sieur-Cavelier de la Salle*, who was a *Norman* [18] born; a Man of great Conduct and profound Policy. He oft-times pretended to me, that he was a *Parisian* by Birth,² thinking thereby to engage *Father Luke Buisset* before-Mention'd, and me, to put more confidence in him: For he had quickly observ'd from our ordinary Conversation, that the *Flemins*, and several other Nations, are prone to be jealous of the *Normans*. I am sensible that there are Men of

¹ The toise is a French linear measure, of six French feet, equivalent to 6.395 English feet.—ED.

² For biography of La Salle, see Parkman's *La Salle* (citations in the present work are made from the edition of 1892); Gravier's *Découvertes et établissements de Cavelier de la Salle* (Paris, 1870); *Jes. Relations*, lvii, pp. 315-317, and lx, 319. 320.—ED.

Honour and Probity in *Normandy*, as well as elsewhere; but nevertheless it is certain, that other Nations are generally more free, and less sly and intriguing, than the Inhabitants of that Province of *France*.

This Fort *Frontenac* lies to the Northward of this Lake, near to its Mouth, where it discharges it self; and is situated in a *Peninsula*, of which the *Isthmus* is digg'd into a Ditch. On the other side, it has partly the Brink of the Lake surrounding it, partly a pretty fort of a natural Mould, where all manner of Ships may ride safely.

The Situation of this Fort is so advantageous, that they can easily prevent the Sallies and Returns of the *Iroquesse*; and in the space of Twenty four Hours, can wage War with them in the Heart of their own Country. This is easily compass'd by the help of their Barques, of which I saw Three all deck'd and mounted, at my last departure thence. With these Barques, in a very little time, they can convey themselves to the South-side of the Lake, and pillage (if it be needful) the Country of the *Tsonnontouans*, who are the most numerous of all the Provinces of the *Iroquesse*. They manure a great deal of Ground for sowing their *Indian* Corn in, of which they reap ordinarily in one Harvest as much as serves 'em for two Years: Then they put it into Caves digg'd in the Earth, and cover'd after such a manner, that no Rain can come at it.

[19] The Ground which lies along the Brink of this Lake is very fertile: In the space of two Years and a half that I resided there in discharge of my *Mission*, they cultivated more

than a hundred Acres of it. Both the *Indian* and *European* Corn, Pulse, Pot-Herbs, Gourds, and Water-Melons, throve very well. It is true indeed, that at first the Corn was much spoil'd by Grasshoppers; but this is a thing that happens in all the Parts of *Canada* at the first cultivating the Ground, by reason of the extream Humidity of all that Country. The first Planters we sent thither, bred up Poultry there, and transported with them Horned Beasts, which multiply'd there extreamly. They have stately Trees, fit for building of Houses or Ships. Their Winter is by three Months shorter than at *Canada*. In fine, we have all the reason to hope, that e're long, a considerable Colony will be settled in that Place. When I undertook my great Voyage, I left there about Fifteen or Sixteen Families together,¹ with Father *Luke Buisset* a *Recollet*, with whom I had us'd to administer the Sacraments in the Chapel of that Fort.

While the Brink of the Lake was frozen, I walk'd upon the Ice to an *Iroquese* Village, call'd *Ganneouse*, near to *Kentè*, about nine Leagues off the Fort,² in company of the *Sieur de la Salle* above-mention'd. These Savages presented us with the Flesh of Elks and Porcupines, which we fed upon. After having discours'd them some time, we return'd, bringing with us a considerable number of the Natives, in order to form a little Village of about Forty Cottages to be inhabited by

¹ These were French colonists, drawn to Fort Frontenac by La Salle, who made them grants of land, and was their feudal seignior.—ED.

² In 1668, Sulpitians from Montreal began a mission at Quinté (Kenté) Bay, on the north side of Lake Ontario, among a colony of Cayugas who had recently settled there. The Sulpitians were replaced by Recollect missionaries, about 1673.—ED.

them, lying betwixt the Fort and our House of Mission. These Barbarians turn'd up the Ground for sowing of *Indian* Corn and Pulse, of which we gave them some for their Gardens. We likewise taught them, contrary to their usual custom of eating, to feed upon Soupe, made with Pulse and Herbs, as we did.

[20] Father *Luke* and I made one Remark upon their Language, that they pronounc'd no Labial Letters, such as *B, P, M, F*. We had the Apostolick Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and our ordinary Litany, translated into the *Iroquese* Language, which we caus'd them to get by heart, and repeat to their Children; and forc'd their Children to pronounce as we did, by inculcating to them the Labial Letters, and obliging 'em to frequent converse with the Children of the *Europeans* that inhabited the Fort; so that they mutually taught one another their Mother-Languages; which serv'd likewise to entertain a good Correspondence with the *Iroquese*.

These Barbarians stay'd always with us, except when they went a hunting; which was the thing we were much concern'd about: for when they went for five or six Months ravaging through their vast huge Forests, and sometimes Two hundred Leagues from their ordinary abode, they took their whole Family along with them. And thus they liv'd together, feeding upon the Flesh of the wild Beasts they kill'd with the Fire-Arms they us'd to receive of the *Europeans*, in exchange of their Skins: And it was impossible for any Missionary to follow them into these wild Defarts; so that their Children being

absent all the season of Hunting, forgot what we had instill'd into them at Fort *Frontenac*.

The Inhabitants of *Canada* towards *Quebec*, *Trois Rivières*, and the Isle of *Mon[*t*]real*, being sick of their long Winters; and seeing those of the *Franciscan* Order settle themselves at *Frontenac*, where the Winter was three Months shorter, many of 'em resolv'd to transport their Families thither, and reside there. They represented to themselves the Advantage that should accrue to them, by having the Sacraments administred, and their Children educated by us, and that for nothing; for we ordinarily took no Compensation for the Instruction we gave.

[21] There have always been some sort of People who endeavour'd to render themselves Masters of *Canada*, and become Arbiters and Judges over all the Settlements there; for the compassing of which Design, they left no means untry'd. They attributed to themselves the Glory of all the Good Success that was had there: They dispers'd their Missionaries over all the Country, and endeavour'd to obstruct all our Designs at Fort *Frontenac*. In fine, they oblig'd our *Recollets* to remove thence by the help of the Marquis *de Benonville*, the then Governour of *Canada*, whom they had wheedled into their Interests, and who had suffer'd himself to be impos'd upon by the Artifices of these Men.¹

I hope, that some time or other God will re-establish our

¹ A sarcastic allusion to the Jesuits. Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, was governor of New France from August, 1685 to October, 1689.—ED.

poor Monks in that Place; for their Designs were always innocent and good; and they could never have been made to retire thence, without doing them Injustice. God leaves nothing unpunish'd: The Day shall come when he shall take Vengeance on those who did this Injury. I heard some time ago, that the *Iroquese*, who wage continual War with the *French* of *Canada*, have seiz'd the Fort of *Catarockouy*¹; as also that the cruel Savages did smok in their Pipes some of the Fingers of those who had procur'd the departure of our poor *Recollets* from that Fort; and that the present Inhabitants of *Canada* have upbraided those who were the Authors of that Injustice, with it.

¹ In 1689 Denonville, feeling unable to maintain Fort Frontenac, ordered its abandonment; it was soon after seized by the Iroquois, who found therein large quantities of stores and ammunition. Orders were given by Louis XIV, in the following year, that the walls of the fort be razed; but it was restored by Frontenac in 1695. See *Jes. Relations*, lxiv, pp. 97, 276.—ED.

CHAP. VI.

A Description of some Fresh-water Lakes, the greatest and the pleasantest in the Universe.

HERE commence the Description of the most remarkable Things in this great Discovery, that the Reader may the more easily attain to a full Knowledge [22] of our Voyage, by following the Map we have provided for that purpose.

The Lake *Ontario* receiv'd the Name of the Lake *Frontenac*, from the Illustrious Count *de Frontenac*, Governour-General of *Canada*. All the World is acquainted with the Merit and Vertue of that Noble Person: It is likewise well known, how ancient that Family is from which he is descended, and what a glorious Train of Illustrious Ancestors went before him, who were always thought worthy of the most weighty Employments both Civil and Military! His Family was always inviolably firm to the Interests of their Sovereign, even in the most perplex'd Times: Nay, I may say upon this occasion, without giving Offence to the other Governours of *Canada*, that have either preceded, or are to succeed him, That this Country was never govern'd with so much Wisdom, Moderation, and Equity, as by the Count *de Frontenac*.

I know very well, that those Men who aspire to be Masters over all, have endeavour'd to blacken his Reputation, to

eclipse his Glory, and render him suspected. But I am bound to say, to the Praise of that Illustrious Nobleman, That for all the Ten Years he liv'd in that Country, he was a Father to the Poor; a Protector to those that were in danger of being oppress'd; nay, in short, his Conversation was a perfect Model of Vertue and Piety. Those of his Countrymen who were stirr'd up against him, by an Effect of their natural Levity and Fickleness, had the Mortification to see him re-establish'd in that very same Government, of which their Calumnies and malignant Intrigues had endeavour'd to dispossess him. They had engag'd the Intendant of *Chefneau* in the same Combination, having over-reach'd him by their cunning Artifices. Yet notwithstanding all these unjust Censures, I came to understand of late, that they regret much the want of that Illustrious Count.¹

[23] It was therefore in Honour of this Worthy Count, that they gave to the Lake the Name of *Frontenac*, in order to perpetuate his Memory in that Country. This Lake is Eighty Leagues long, and Twenty five Leagues broad: It

¹ Louis de Buade, count de Frontenac, was probably the ablest and most distinguished, except Champlain, among the governors of New France. Appointed in 1672, he governed the colony with great ability, and kept the Iroquois tribes in awe; but his fiery temper and headstrong will so involved him in quarrels with both civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and with the fur-traders, that Louis XIV, losing patience, recalled him in 1682. The inefficiency of his successors made it necessary to send him back to Canada (1689), which he saved from what seemed imminent destruction. In 1696, he led in person an expedition into the Iroquois country, effectually breaking the power of that ferocious people. Frontenac died on Nov. 28, 1698, regretted by the people. Although hostile to the Jesuits, and little inclined toward the diocesan authorities at Quebec, he had always favored and aided the Récollets; hence Hennepin's somewhat extravagant laudation.

Jacques Duchesneau was intendant of Canada from 1675 to 1682.—ED.

abounds with Fishes, is deep, and navigable all over. The Five Cantons, or Districts, of the *Iroquese*, do inhabit for the most part the South-side of this Lake, viz. the *Ganniegez*, or *Agniez* (the nighest Neighbours to *New-Holland*, or *New-York*) the *Onnontagues*, or those who live in the Mountains, who are the most Warlike People of all that Nation; the *Onneiouts* and *Tsonnontouans* the most populous of them all. There are likewise on the South-side¹ of the Lake, these *Iroquese* Villages, viz. *Tejajagon*, *Kenté*, and *Ganneouffe*, which is not distant from *Frontenac* above Nine Leagues.

The great River of *St. Laurence* derives its Source from the Lake *Ontario*, which is likewise call'd in the *Iroquese* Language, *Skanadario*; that is to say, a very pretty Lake. It springs likewise partly from the Lakes that are higher up in the Country, as we shall have occasion to observe afterwards.

This Lake *Ontario* is of an Oval Figure, and extends it self from East to West. Its Water is fresh and sweet, and very pleasant to drink; the Lands which border upon it being likewise very fertile. It is very navigable, and can receive large Vessels: Only in Winter it is more difficult, because of the outrageous Winds which are frequent there. From this Lake one may go by Barques, or by greater Vessels to the foot of a great Rock² that is about two Leagues off the Fall of the River *Niagara*, which I am now to describe.

¹ Evidently an oversight of Hennepin's English translator, for these Cayuga villages were all on the north side of Lake Ontario.—ED.

² O. H. Marshall says (*Buffalo Historical Society Publications*, i, pp. 265, 266): "This 'great rock' can still be seen under the western end of the old Suspension bridge, the ruins of which now span the river at that point . . . and perpetuates his memory under the name of 'Hennepin's Rock.'"—ED.

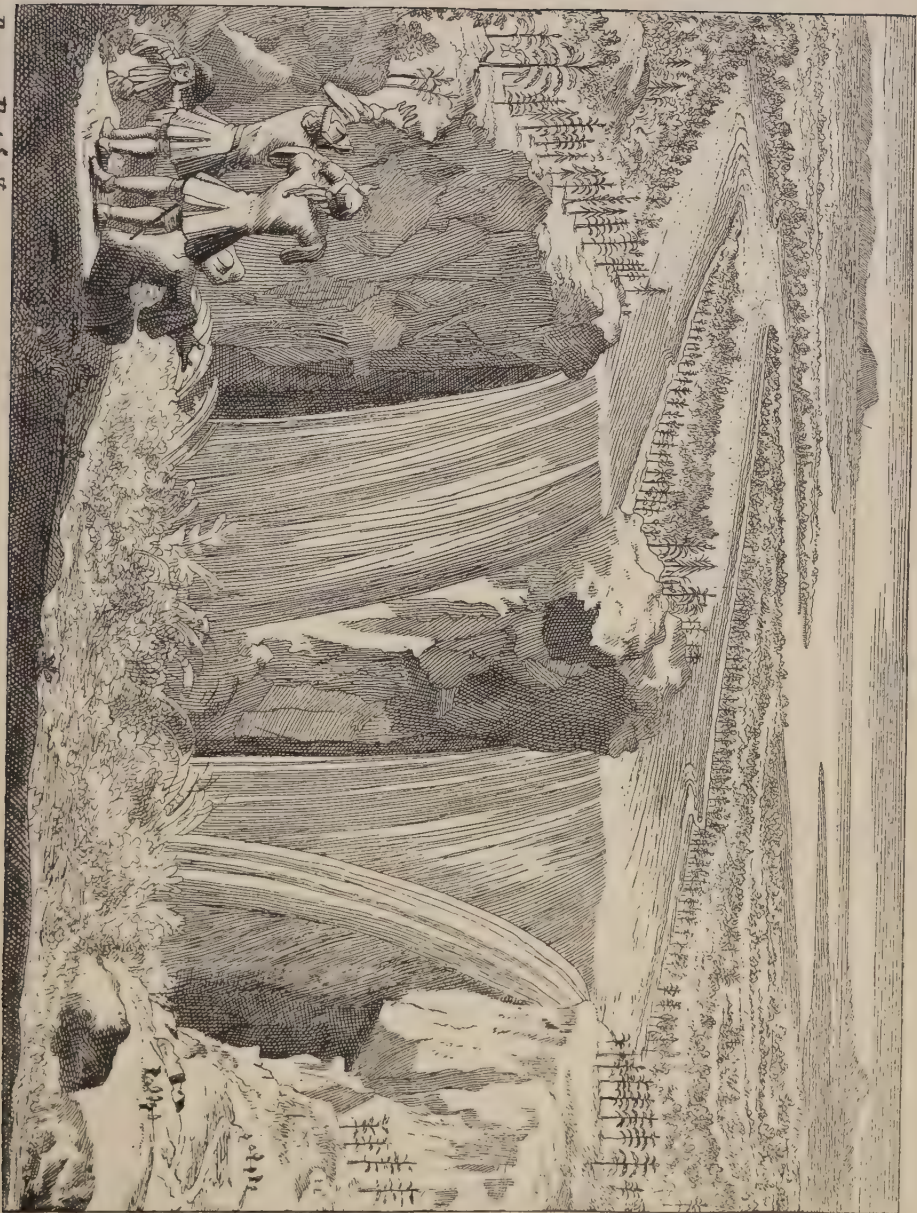
[24] CHAP. VII.

A Description of the Fall of the River Niagara, that is to be seen betwixt the Lake Ontario and that of Erié.

BETWIXT the Lake *Ontario* and *Erié*, there is a vast and prodigious Cadence of Water which falls down after a surprizing and astonishing manner, insomuch that the Universe does not afford its Parallel. 'Tis true, *Italy* and *Suedeland* boast of some such Things; but we may well say they are but forry Patterns, when compar'd to this of which we now speak. At the foot of this horrible Precipice, we meet with the River *Niagara*, which is not above half a quarter of a League broad, but is wonderfully deep in some places. It is so rapid above this Descent, that it violently hurries down the wild Beasts while endeavouring to pass it to feed on the other side, they not being able to withstand the force of its Current, which inevitably casts them down headlong above Six hundred foot.

This wonderful Downfall is compounded of two great Cross-streams of Water, and two Falls, with an Isle sloping along the middle of it.¹ The Waters which fall from this vast height, do foam and boil after the most hideous manner

¹ Goat Island, with the so-called "Horseshoe" and "American" falls.—ED.



imaginable, making an outrageous Noise, more terrible than that of Thunder; for when the Wind blows from off the South, their dismal roaring may be heard above fifteen Leagues off.

The River *Niagara* having thrown it self down this incredible Precipice, continues its impetuous course for two Leagues together, to the great Rock above-mention'd, with an inexpressible Rapidity: But having pass'd that, its Impetuosity relents, gliding [25] along more gently for two Leagues, till it arrives at the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*.

Any Barque or greater Vessel may pass from the Fort to the foot of this huge Rock above-mention'd. This Rock lies to the Westward, and is cut off from the Land by the River *Niagara*, about two Leagues farther down than the great Fall; for which two Leagues the People are oblig'd to carry their Goods over-land; but the way is very good, and the Trees are but few, and they chiefly Firrs and Oaks.

From the great Fall unto this Rock, which is to the West of the River, the two Brinks of it are so prodigious high, that it would make one tremble to look steadily upon the Water, rolling along with a Rapidity not to be imagin'd. Were it not for this vast Cataract, which interrupts Navigation, they might sail with Barks or greater Vessels, above Four hundred and fifty Leagues further, cross the Lake of Hurons, and up to the farther end of the Lake *Illinois* [Michigan]; which two Lakes we may well say are little Seas of fresh Water.

Sieur *de la Salle* had a design to have built a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Niagara*; and might easily have compass'd it, had he known how to have kept himself within bounds, and to be confin'd there for one Year. His design was to curb and keep under the *Iroquese*, and especially the *Tsonnontouans*, who are the most numerous People, and the most given to War of all that Nation. In short, such a Fort as this might easily have interrupted the Commerce betwixt these People and the *English* and *Dutch* in *New-York*. Their custom is to carry to *New-York* the Skins of Elks, Beavers, and several sorts of Beasts, which they hunt and seek after some 2 or 300 Leagues from their own home. Now they being oblig'd to pass and repass near to this Mouth of the River *Niagara*, we might easily stop them by fair means in time of [26] Peace, or by open force in time of War; and thus oblige them to turn their Commerce upon *Canada*.

But having observ'd that the *Iroquese* were push'd on to stop the Execution of this Design, not so much by the *English* and *Dutch*, as by the Inhabitants of *Canada*, who many of them endeavour'd by all means to traverse this our Discovery; they contented themselves to build a House at the Mouth of the River to the Eastward, where the Place was naturally fortifi'd.¹ On one side of this House there is a very good Haven, where Ships may safely ride; nay, by the help of a Capstane, they may easily be hall'd upon Land. Besides, at

¹ La Salle built (1679) a blockhouse on the point of land at the eastern angle between Lake Ontario and the Niagara River. Various fortifications have since occupied this site, at present that of Fort Niagara.—ED.

this Place they take an infinite quantity of Whittings, Sturgeons, and all other sorts of Fishes, which are incomparably good and sweet; infomuch, that in the proper Season of Fishing, they might furnish the greatest City in *Europe* with plenty of Fish.

CHAP. VIII.

A Description of the Lake Erié.

THE *Iroqueſe* give to this Lake the Name of *Erié Tejocharontiong*, which extends it ſelf from Eaſt to Weſt perhaps a hundred and forty Leagues in Length. But no *European* has ever ſurvey'd it all; only I and thoſe who accompany'd me in this Diſcovery, have view'd the greater Part of it, with a Veſſel of Sixty Tun burden, which we cauſ'd to be made on purpoſe, about two Leagues above the fore-mention'd Fall of *Niagara*, as I ſhall have occaſion to obſerve more largely hereafter.

This Lake *Erie*, or *Tejocharontiong*, encloſes on its Southern Bank a Tract of Land as large as the Kingdom of *France*. It divides it ſelf at a certain place into two Channels, be-
 cauſe of a great Iſland enclos'd betwixt them¹: Thus continuing its courſe for fourteen [27] Leagues, it falls into the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, and this is that which they call the River *Niagara*.

Betwixt the Lake *Erie* and *Huron*, there is almoſt ſuch another Streight thirty Leagues long,² which is of an equal

¹ Grand Iſland; the two divisions of the river are known as Chippewa and Tonawanda channels.—ED.

² Detroit and St. Clair Rivers.—ED.

breadth almost all over, except in the middle, that it enlarges it self by help of another Lake, far less than any of the rest, which is of a circular Form about six Leagues over, according to the Observation of our Pilot. We gave it the Name of Lake *St. Claire*, though the *Iroquese*, who pass over it frequently when they are upon Warlike Expeditions, call it *Osi Keta*. The Country which borders upon this most agreeable and charming Streight, is a pleasant Champagne Country, as I shall relate afterwards. All these different Rivers, which are distinguish'd by so many different Names, are nothing else but the Continuation of the great River *St. Laurence*; and this Lake *St. Claire* is form'd by the same.

CHAP. IX.

A Description of the Lake Huron.

THE Lake *Huron* was so call'd by the People of *Canada*, because the Savage *Hurons*, who inhabited the adjacent Country, us'd to have their Hair so burn'd, that their Head refembled the Head of a Wild Boar.¹ The Savages themselves call it the Lake *Karegnondy*. Heretofore the *Hurons* liv'd near this Lake, but they have been in a great measure destroy'd by the *Iroquese*.²

The Circumference of this Lake may be reckon'd to be about Seven hundred Leagues, and its Length Two hundred; but the Breadth is very unequal. To the West of it near its Mouth, it contains several great Islands, and is navigable all over. Betwixt this Lake and that of the *Illinois*, we meet with another [28] Streight, which discharges it self into this Lake, being about Three Leagues long, and One broad, its Course running West-North-West.³

There is yet another Streight or narrow Canal towards

¹ When first encountered by the French, these savages so dressed their hair that it formed one or more ridges upon the head, suggesting the bristles of a wild boar (*Fr. hure*). See *Jes. Relations*, xvi, pp. 229, 231; xxxviii, 249.—ED.

² In 1649-50 the Huron tribes, then living in the peninsula between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, were attacked and nearly destroyed by the Iroquois. The remnants of the Hurons then dispersed, taking refuge, some at Quebec, some among friendly Algonquian tribes, and others along Lake Huron.—ED.

³ The Strait of Mackinac.—ED.

the upper Lake (that runs into this of *Huron*) about Five Leagues broad, and Fifteen Leagues long, which is interrupted by feveral Islands, and becomes narrower by degrees, till it comes at the Fall of *St. Mary*. This Fall is a Precipice full of Rocks, over which the Water of the upper Lake, which flows thither in great abundance, casts it self with a most violent Impetuosity: Notwithstanding which, a Canou may go up it on one side, provided the People in it row vigorously.¹ But the safer way is to carry the Canou over-land for so little a space, together with the Commodities that those of *Canada* carry thither to exchange with the Savages that live to the Northward of the upper Lake. This Fall is call'd the Fall of *St. Mary Missilimakinak*. It lies at the Mouth of the upper Lake, and discharges it self partly into the Mouth of the Lake *Illinois* towards the great Bay of *Puans*²; all which shall afterwards be more fully discours'd of, when I come to relate our Return from *Iffati*.

¹ The St. Mary's River; and the rapids therein, at the present city of Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.—ED.

² A name applied to Green Bay, on the western side of Lake Michigan. See Thwaites's *Father Marquette* (N. Y., 1902), pp. 146-148, for origin and explanation of the term.—ED.

CHAP. X.

A Description of the Lake call'd by the Savages Illinouack, and by the French, Illinois.

THE Lake *Illinois*, in the Natives Language, signifies *The Lake of Men*; for the word *Illinois* signifies *a Man of full Age in the vigour of his Years*. It lies on the West of the Lake *Huron*, standing North and South, and is about a Hundred and twenty, or a Hundred and thirty Leagues in Length, and Forty in Breadth, being in Circuit about Four hundred [29] Leagues. It is call'd by the *Miami's*, *Mischigonong*, that is, *The Great Lake*. It extends it self from North to South, and falls into the Southern-side of the Lake *Huron*; and is distant from the upper Lake about Fifteen or Sixteen Leagues, its Source lies near a River which the *Iroquese* call *Hobio*, where the River *Miamis* discharges it self into the same Lake.

It is navigable all over, and has to the Westward a great Bay call'd the Bay of *Puans*, by reason that the Savages who now inhabit the Land surrounding this Bay, had deserted their former Habitation, because of some stinking (in *French Puans*) Waters towards the Sea that annoy'd them.

CHAP. XI.

A short Description of the Upper Lake.

THIS Upper Lake runs from East to West, and may have more than a Hundred and fifty Leagues in length, Sixty in breadth, and Five hundred in circuit. We never went quite over it, as we did over all the others I've hitherto mention'd; but we sounded some of its greatest Depths, and it resembles the Ocean, having neither Bottom nor Banks.

I shall not here stay to mention the infinite numbers of Rivers that discharge themselves into this prodigious Lake, which together with that of *Illinois*, and the Rivers that are swallow'd in them, make up the Source of that great River *St. Laurence*, which runs into the Ocean at the Island of *Assumption*¹ towards *New-found-land*. We sail'd upon this River about Six hundred Leagues from its Mouth to its Source.

I've already observ'd, That all these Lakes may well be call'd Fresh-water Seas. They abound extreamly [30] in Whitings, that are larger than Carps, and which are extraordinary good; nay, at Twenty or Thirty Fathom Water, there are Salmon-Trouts taken of Fifty or Sixty pound

¹ The name applied by Jacques Cartier to the large island at the mouth of the *St. Lawrence* now known as Anticosti.—ED.

weight. It were easie to build on the sides of these great Lakes, an infinite Number of considerable Towns, which might have Communication one with another by Navigation for Five hundred Leagues together, and by an inconceivable Commerce which would establish it self among 'em. And to be sure, the Soil, if cultivated by *Europeans*, would prove very fertile. Those that can conceive the Largeness and Beauty of these Lakes, may easily understand, by the help of our Map, what course we steer'd in making the great Discovery hereafter mention'd.

CHAP. XII.

What is the Predominant Genius of the Inhabitants of Canada.

THE Spaniards were the first who discover'd *Canada*; but at their first arrival, having found nothing considerable in it, they abandon'd the Country, and call'd it *Il Capo di Nada*; that is, *A Cape of Nothing*; hence by corruption sprung the Word *Canada*, which we use in all our Maps.¹

Since I left that Country, I understand that all things continue very near in the same State as they were whilst I resided there. Those who have the Government of *Canada* committed to their Care, are mov'd with such a malignant Spirit, as obliges all who do not approve their Design, to moan secretly before God. Men of Probity that are zealous for Religion, find nothing there of what they expected; but, on the contrary, such Repulses and ill Usage, that no body could have foreseen. Several resort [31] thither, with a design to Sacrifice their Repose and Life, to the Temporal and Spiritual Succour of an Infant-Church; but the loss of Reputation and Honour, are the Sacrifices they're after all forc'd to make. Others go thither in the hopes of spending

¹ The name *Canada* is of Iroquois origin; most historical writers regard it as meaning "village," but some think that it means "lake." See *Jes. Relations*, ii, p. 301.—ED.

their Lives in Peace and perfect Concord; whereas they meet with nothing but Jarrs, Divisions, and a Sea of Troubles. In lieu of their fair Hopes, they reap nothing but Croffes and Persecution; and all for not pleasing the Humours of Two or Three Men, who are the over-ruling Wits of that Country. What a vast disparity distance there is betwixt the Humor of these Men, and our *Flemish* Sincerity! I mean that Candour and Evenness of Mind which make up the true Character of a Christian, and is observ'd every where else.

But without entring farther into any Particulars, I leave the Judgment of all unto God; and shall only say, that we who are *Flemings* by Birth, went to *Canada* without any other private Design, having renounc'd our Native Country, meerly for the Service of our Religion, after having quitted all other Enjoyments for embracing a Religious Profession. And therefore it was not a small Surprize to us, upon our arrival in that Country, to see our Sincerity and Uprightness of Heart so sorrily entertain'd. There is a certain sort of People, who are jealous of every thing, and whom it is impossible to retrieve from under the first impressions they've receiv'd. Though a Man were never so complaisant, yet if he be not altogether of their Stamp, or if he endeavours to represent Things fairly and rationally unto them, tho' with wise and soft Remonstrances, yet shall he pass among 'em for a Fellow of a turbulent Spirit. Such Conduct as this, does not favour of Christianity, neither doth it bespeak any other Prospect than that of temporal Interest. This Consideration mov'd me oft-times to say to the Three *Flemish* Monks I had [32]

brought to *Canada* with me, that it had been much better for us who had quitted all our Enjoyments, and exchange'd them for the Poverty of a Monastick Life, to have gone in Mission among Strangers, to preach Repentance to Infidels, and propagate the Kingdom of our Saviour among barbarous Nations.

And indeed kind Providence seconded my good Intentions; for the Reverend Father *Germain Allart*¹ Recollet, late Bishop of *Vence* in *Provence*, sent me Orders to undertake the Discovery which I am about to relate.

¹ This priest was superior of the first party of Récollets who came to Canada in 1670.—ED.

CHAP. XIII.

A Description of my first Imbarkment in a Canow at Quebec, the Capital City of Canada, being bound for the South-West of New-France, or Canada.

I REMAIN'D Two Years and a half at Fort *Frontenac*, till I saw the House of *Mission* finish'd, that Father *Luke Buisset* and I had caus'd to be built there. This engag'd us in Travels, which inseparably attend New Establishments. Accordingly we went in a Canou down the River *St. Laurence*; and after a Hundred and twenty Leagues sailing, arriv'd at *Quebec*, where I retir'd into the *Recollets* Convent of *St. Mary*, in order to prepare and sanctifie my self for commencing our Discovery.

And indeed I must frankly own, that when at the foot of the Crofs I pensively consider'd this important Mission, weighing it in the Scales of Humane Reason, and measuring the weight of its Difficulties by Humane Force, it seem'd altogether a terrible, as well as a rash and inconsiderate Attempt. But when I look'd up to GOD, and view'd it as an effect of his Goodness, in chusing me for so great a Work, and as his Commandment directed [33] to me by the Mouth of my Superiours, who are the Instruments and Interpreters of his Will unto me: These Thoughts, I say, presently inspir'd

me with Courage and Resolution to undertake this Discovery, with all the Fidelity and Constancy imaginable.

I perswaded my self, that since it was the peculiar Work of God, to open the hard Hearts of that barbarous People, to whom I was sent to publish the glad Tidings of his Gospel, it were as easie for him to compass it by a feeble Instrument, such as I was, as by the most worthy Person in the World.

Having thus prepar'd my self to enter upon the discharge of my *Mission*, and seeing that those who were expected from *Europe* to bear part in this Discovery, were now arriv'd; that the Pilote, Seamen, and Ship-Carpenters were in readines, and that the Arms, Goods, and Rigging for the Ships were all at hand; I took with me from our Convent a portable Chapel all compleat for my self, and afterwards went and receiv'd the Benediction of the Bishop of *Quebec*, together with his Approbation in Writing; which I likewise receiv'd of Count *Frontenac*, who was a Man that testify'd a great deal of Affection for our *Flemish* Recollects, because of our Candour and Ingenuity; and who was pleas'd to give publick Testimonie to the Generosity of my Undertaking, while we were set at Table.

In short, I embark'd in a little Canou made of the Barks of Birch-Trees, carrying nothing along with me save my portable Chapel, one Blanket, and a Matt of Rushes, which was to serve me for Bed and Quilt; and this was the whole of my Equipage. It was concerted so, that I should go off first, that my Departure might oblige the rest to expedite

their Affairs with speed. The Inhabitants of *Canada*, upon both sides the River of *St. Laurence*, betwixt *Quebec* and *Montreal*, entreated me to officiate among [34] them, and administer the Sacraments: For they could not assist at Divine Service oftner than five or six times a Year, because there were only Four *Missionaries* in that Country for the extent of Fifty Leagues.

I baptiz'd a Child at a certain Place call'd *St. Hour*,¹ and acquainted the absent Missionary of the Place with the same; which done, I continu'd my Voyage; and as I pass'd by *Harpentinie*, the Lord of the Place of one of the ancientest Families in *Canada*,² would have sent one of his Sons along with me; but the Canou was too narrow for Four Persons. At length I arriv'd at *Trois Rivières*, which is a Town only surrounded with Palisado's, lying about Thirty Leagues higher than *Quebec*. Not meeting there Father *Sixte*,³ a Recollet-Missionary, who was gone from thence in Mission, the Inhabitants beseech'd me to preach and perform Divine Service on the First of *October*. The next day, the *Sieur Bonivet*, Lieutenant-General Justiciary of that Place, convey'd me a League up the River *St. Laurence*.

The most laudable Enterprizes are oft-times retarded by surprizing and unexpected Obstacles; for when I arriv'd at *Montreal*, they debauch'd and entic'd away my Two Boat-

¹ *St. Ours*, a small town in Richelieu county, Que.—ED.

² A variant of Repentigny, now the name of a village 17 miles N. E. of Montreal. The name was bestowed by its founder, Pierre le Gardeur, sieur de Repentigny, one of the earliest colonists of Canada (1636).—ED.

³ *Sixte le Tac*.—ED.

Men; so that I was forc'd to take advantage of an offer which two other Men made to conduct me along in their little shatter'd Boat. Thus was it that those who envy'd the Success of my Undertaking, began to set themselves in opposition to it, and endeavour'd to hinder the most considerable and famous Discovery that has been made in that New World in this Age.

In going up the River, as I pass'd the Lake of *St. Louis*, a little above the Isle of *Montreal*, which is about Twenty five Leagues in circumference, I observ'd that this River *St. Laurence* divides it self into Two Branches; of which one leads to the ancient Country of the *Hurons*, the *Outaouais*, [35] and several other Nations situate to the Northward¹; and the other to the Country of the *Iroquese*. We went up this last for about Sixty Leagues, in most rapid and horrible Currents, full of great Rocks, where the Water roars Night and Day like Thunder, for Three or Four Leagues together. All which does not hinder the Boat-Men and their Canou's to descend down among these huge Rocks with so much swiftness, that those who are in the Canou are for the time quite blinded. They generally carry Elks-Claws and Skins with them, which they exchange for other Goods, with the Savages of that Country.

I shall not offer to give any circumstantial Account of the Accidents that befel me, which are inseparable Companions of all great Voyages: What is needful to be said is, That I

¹ A reference to the Ottawa River, which was by early travelers and writers often regarded as a principal fork, rather than a tributary, of the St. Lawrence.—ED.

arriv'd at Fort *Catarokouy*, or *Frontenac*, about Eleven a Clock at Night, the next Day after *All-Saints*; where our Recollet-Fathers, *Gabriel de la Ribourde*, and *Luke Buisset*, Missionaries, receiv'd me with all Expressions of Joy into our House of Mission, which we had caus'd to be built the Year before, upon the brink of the Lake *Ontario*, near to Fort *Frontenac*. This Fort lies about forty four Degrees and some Minutes of Northern Latitude.

I had forgot to acquaint you, that this Lake *Ontario* is form'd by the River *St. Laurence*, and that it is deep enough for large Vessels; for at seventy Fathom we could discern no Ground. The Waves there are tofs'd by mighty Winds which are very frequent; and their Surges are full as high as those of the Sea, but much more dangerous; for they are shorter and steeper; so that a Vessel riding along cannot yield and keep touch with 'em. There are likewise some very plain appearances of a Flux and Reflux; for they observe the Water to flow and ebb [36] by little Tides, and that it flows oft-times against the Wind when very high.

The Fishing of this Lake, as of all the other Lakes before-mention'd, is very considerable for all manner of excellent Fishes, especially for Salmon-Trouts, which are there much bigger than our biggest Salmons. The adjacent Country is very fertile, as is confirm'd by the Experience of those who cultivated it in several places. There is excellent Game there for all sorts of Wild Beasts and Wild Fowl: Their Forests are replenish'd with the prettiest Trees in the

World, Pines, Cedars, and *Epinetes*,¹ (a sort of Firr-tree very common in that Country.) They have likewise very good Iron-Mines; and no doubt but other Metals might be found if sought after.

While I abode at *Catarokouy*, waiting the coming up of the rest of our Company, I had time to confer with the Reverend Fathers of our Order, concerning what Measures we were to take for converting unto Christ Jesus, such a numerous Train of Nations that had never heard of the Gospel; for it is certain, that such poor helpless Priests as we of the *Franciscan* Order, destitute of all temporal Enjoyments, and cut off from all Humane Means and Assistance, cannot be too cautious in managing the Concerns of so important a Mission, because of the infinite variety of the Tempers of those that were to accompany us in this Voyage; for we had in company some *Flemings*, some *Italians*, and some *Normans*, who were all of different Interests; and it was a very difficult Task for us to comply with, and please so many different Humours; especially when engag'd in such a Voyage as this, in which Laws could not be observ'd with the same Exactness, or retain the same Rigour as in *Europe*, where Men may be entic'd to Good, and scar'd from Evil, by the Love of Rewards or fear of Punishment. But I resign'd my self wholly to the Exercise of [37] my Duty, leaving the Conduct of all

¹ The popular name of the hemlock spruce (*Abies Canadensis*); its leaves and bark were often used as medicine by the early colonists, and the Indians used the bark to cover their cabins.—ED.

unto God's Providence, and being ready to encounter whatever Accidents might fall in my way.

The *Iroquesse* whom we had brought to settle near this Fort (as was above related) came oft-times to visit us, and made us Presents of the Flesh of Elks, and Roe-bucks; in lieu of which we gave 'em little Knives and some Tobacco, which we had for that purpose. These Savages, when they reflected upon our designed Voyage, us'd to clap their Four Fingers on their Mouths (as they generally do when touch'd with the Admiration of any thing they cannot comprehend) and cry'd aloud, *Otchitagon, Gannoron!* that is, *Bare-Feet, what ye are about to undertake, is of great Importance:* And added, that their most valiant Adventurers had much ado to extricate themselves out of the hands of those barbarous Nations we were going to visit. It is certain, that the *Iroquesse* had a most tender Respect for the *Franciscan* Monks, having observ'd them to live all in common, without reserving any particular Possessions.

The Food of the *Iroquesse* is in common among 'em. The ancientest Women in the House distribute about to the other Persons in the Family according to their Seniority. When they sit at their Meals, they give freely to eat unto all that come into their Houses; for they would rather chuse to fast for a whole Day, than suffer any one to go from their Houses, without offering them a share of whatever they had.

The *Sieur de la Salle* arriv'd at the Fort some time after me: God preserv'd him (as he did me) from the infinite Dangers he was expos'd to in this great Voyage betwixt

Quebec and the Fort, having pass'd the great fall of Water mention'd last, and several other most rapid Currents in his way thither. The same Year he sent off Fifteen of our Boatmen, who [38] were to go before us. They made as if they had been going in their Canou towards the *Illinois*, and the other Neighbouring Nations that border upon the River, call'd by the *Illinois*, *Meschasipi*; that is, a great River; which Name it has in the Map. All this was only to secure to us a good Correspondence with the Savages, and to prepare for us in that Country some Provisions, and other Necessaries, to further this Discovery. But there being among them some villainous Fellows, they stopp'd in the upper Lake at *Missilimakinak*, and diverted themselves with the Savages that live to the Northward of that Lake, lavishing and squandering away the best of the Commodities they had taken with 'em, instead of providing such Things as were needful for building a Ship, which we greatly wanted in order to pass from Lake to Lake to the River *Meschasipi*.¹

¹ A reference to La Salle's first Western expedition (1678-80); Hennepin accompanied him as chaplain. For detailed accounts of La Salle's explorations, see Parkman's *La Salle*, Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi*, and Gabriel Gravier's *Cavalier de la Salle* (Paris, 1870).—ED.

CHAP. XIV.

A Description of my second Imbarkment at Fort Frontenack, in a Brigantine upon the Lake Ontario or Frontenac.

THAT very fame Year, on the Eighteenth of *November*, I took leave of our Monks at Fort *Frontenac*, and after mutual Embraces and Expressions of Brotherly and Christian Charity, I embark'd in a Brigantine of about ten Tuns. The Winds and the Cold of the Autumn were then very violent, infomuch that our Crew was afraid to go into so little a Vessel. This oblig'd us and the *Sieur de la Motte* our Commander,¹ to keep our course on the North-side of the Lake, to shelter our selves under the Coast, against the North-west Wind, which otherwise wou'd have forc'd us upon the Southern Coast of the Lake. This Voyage prov'd very difficult [39] and dangerous, because of the unseasonable time of the Year, Winter being near at hand.

On the 26th, we were in great danger about Two large Leagues off the Land, where we were oblig'd to lie at an

¹ Pierre de St. Paul, sieur de la Motte-Lussière, a French military officer, was in Canada from 1665 to 1670, and perhaps longer. La Salle, meeting him in Paris in 1678, made La Motte an associate in his Western schemes, and placed him in charge of Fort Frontenac; it was he also who built for La Salle the blockhouse at Niagara. Their association did not apparently last long; in 1683 La Motte obtained a seigniory in Canada, where he spent the rest of his life; he was slain by Iroquois raiders, on Sept. 22, 1690.—ED.

Anchor all that Night at fixty Fathom Water and above; but at length the Wind coming to the North-Eaft, we fail'd on, and arriv'd fafely at the further end of the Lake *Ontario*, call'd by the *Iroquefe*, *Skannadario*. We came pretty near to one of their Villages call'd *Tajajagon*, lying about Seventy Leagues from Fort *Frontenac*, or *Catarokouy*.

We barter'd fome *Indian* Corn with the *Iroquefe*, who could not fufficiently admire us, and came frequently to fee us on board our Brigantine, which for our greater security, we had brought to an Anchor into a River,¹ though before we could get in, we run a ground three times, which oblig'd us to put Fourteen Men into Canou's, and caft the Balaft of our Ship over-board to get her off again. That River falls into the Lake; but for fear of being frozen up therein, we were forc'd to cut the Ice with Axes and other Inſtruments.

The Wind turning then contrary, we were oblig'd to tarry there till the 15th of *December*, 1678, when we fail'd from the Northern Coaft to the Southern, where the River *Niagara* runs into the Lake; but could not reach it that Day, though it is but Fifteen or Sixteen Leagues diſtant, and therefore caſt Anchor within Five Leagues of the Shore, where we had very bad Weather all the Night long.

On the 6th, being St. *Nicholas's* Day, we got into the fine River *Niagara*, into which never any ſuch Ship as ours enter'd before. We fung there *Te Deum*, and other Prayers, to return our Thanks to God Almighty for our prosperous Voyage. The *Iroquefe Tſonnontouans* inhabiting the little Village,

¹ Probably the Humber River, at the mouth of which Toronto is ſituated.—ED.

situated at the mouth of the River, took above Three Hundred Whitings, which are bigger than Carps, and the [40] best relish'd, as well as the wholesomest Fish in the World; which they presented all to us, imputing their good Luck to our Arrival. They were much surprized at our Ship, which they call'd the *great wooden Canou*.

On the 7th, we went in a Canou two Leagues up the River, to look for a convenient Place for Building; but not being able to get the Canou farther up, because the Current was too rapid for us to master, we went over land about three Leagues higher, though we found no Land fit for culture. We lay that Night near a River, which runs from the Westward,¹ within a League above the great Fall of *Niagara*, which, as we have already said, is the greatest in the World. The Snow was then a Foot deep, and we were oblig'd to dig it up to make room for our Fire.

The next day we return'd the same way we went, and saw great Numbers of Wild Goats, and Wild Turkey-Cocks, and on the 11th, we said the first Mass that ever was said in that Country. The Carpenters and the rest of the Crew were set to work; but Monsieur *de la Motte*, who had the Direction of them, being not able to endure the Fatigues of so laborious a Life, gave over his Design, and return'd to *Canada*, having about two hundred Leagues to travel.

The 12th, 13th, and 14th, the Wind was not favourable enough to sail up the River as far as the rapid Current above mention'd, where we had resolv'd to build some Houses.

¹ This is supposed to be Chippewa Creek.—ED.

Whofoever confiders our Map, will eafily fee, that this New Enterprize of building a Fort and fome Houfes on the River *Niagara*, befides the Fort of *Frontenac*, was like to give Jealoufie to the *Iroquefe*, and even to the *English*, who live in this Neighbourhood, and have a great Commerce with them. Therefore to prevent the ill Confequences of it, it [41] was thought fit to fend an Embaffie to the *Iroquefe*, as it will be mention'd in the next Chapter.

The 15th, I was defir'd to fit at the Helm of our Brigantine, while three of our Men hall'd the fame from the Shore with a Rope; and at laft we brought her up, and moor'd her to the Shore with a Halfer, near a Rock of a prodigious heighth, lying upon the rapid Currents we have already mention'd. The 17th, 18th, and 19th, we were bufie in making a Cabin with Palifadoes, to ferve for a Magazine; but the Ground was fo frozen, that we were forced to throw feveral times boiling water upon it to facilitate the beating in and driving down the Stakes. The 20th, 21ft, 22d, and 23d, our Ship was in great danger to be dash'd in pieces, by the vaft pieces of Ice that were hurl'd down the River; to prevent which, our Carpenters made a Capftane to haul her afhore; but our great Cable broke in three pieces; whereupon one of our Carpenters furrounded the Veffel with a Cable, and ty'd to it feveral Ropes, whereby we got her afhore, tho' with much difficulty, and fav'd her from the danger of being broke to pieces, or carried away by the Ice, which came down with an extream violence from the great Fall of *Niagara*.

CHAP. XV.

An Account of the Embassie to the Iroquese Tsonnontouans.

THESE Savages being the most numerous Nation of that Country, it was requisite to avoid giving them any manner of suspicion; and in order thereto, we thought fit to prepossess those of the little Village of *Niagara* with a favourable opinion of our Design: We told them, that we did not intend to build a Fort on the Bank of their River *Niagara*, [42] but only a great *Hanger* or Store-house, to keep the Commodities we had brought to supply their Occasions. We accompany'd our Discourse with some small Presents, and told them that we should remain with them, while Six or Seven of our Company went to the great Village of the *Tsonnontouans*, to treat with their chief Captains. And truly it was absolutely necessary to go thither, to remove the Suspicion the Enemies of our Discovery had suggested to that People concerning our Designs.

As I was building a little Cabin of Bark, to perform Divine Service therein, M. *de la Motte*, who was still with us, desir'd me to accompany him in his Embassie, which I was very unwilling to comply with; and therefore intreated him to suffer me to stay there with the greater number of our Men. But notwithstanding the Arguments I us'd, he told me

that he was resolv'd to take along with him 7 Men out of 16, that we were in all; that I understood in a manner the Language of their Nation, having been often in conference with them at the Fort of *Frontenac*; that the Glory of God was concern'd in this Undertaking; that he would not trust those that were to accompany him; and in short, that if our Enterprize should miscarry upon that account, the Blame would lie at my door. These with some other secret Reasons, oblig'd me to comply with his Desire, and to follow him.

We travell'd with Shooes made after the *Indian* way, of a single Skin, but without Soles, because the Earth was still cover'd with Snow, and past through Forests for thirty two Leagues together, carrying upon our Backs our Coverings and other Baggage, lying often in open Field, and having with us no other Food but some roasted *Indian* Corn: 'Tis true, we met upon our Road some *Iroquese* a hunting, who gave us some wild Goats, and fifteen or sixteen black Squirrels, which are excellent [43] Meat. However, after five Days Journey, we came to *Tagarondies*, a great Village of the *Iroquese Tjonnontouans*,¹ and were immediately carry'd to the Cabin of their Principal Chief, where Women and Children flock'd to see us, our Men being very well drest and arm'd. An old Man having according to Custom made publick Cries, to give Notice of our arrival to their Village; the younger Savages wash'd our Feet, which afterwards they rubb'd over with

¹ Apparently the village located on Boughton Hill, near Victor, N. Y.; it is mentioned by the Jesuit missionaries as Gandagaro. See W. M. Beauchamp's map (with notes) of Iroquois village sites, in *Jes. Relations*, li, p. 293.—ED.

the Greafe of Deers, wild Goats, and other Beasts, and the Oil of Bears.

The next Day, which was the First of the Year 1679, after the ordinary Service, I preach'd in a little Chapel made of Barks of Trees, in presence of two Jesuites, *viz.* Father *Garnier* and *Rafeix*¹; and afterwards we had a Conference with 42 old Men, who make up their Council. These Savages are for the most part tall, and very well shap'd, cover'd with a sort of Robe made of Beavers and Wolves-Skins, or of black Squirrels, holding a Pipe or *Calumet* in their Hands. The Senators of *Venice* do not appear with a graver Countenance, and perhaps don't speak with more Majesty and Solidity, than those ancient *Iroquesse*.

This Nation is the most cruel and barbarous of all *America*, especially to their Slaves, whom they take above two or three hundred Leagues from their Country, as I shall shew in my Second Volume; however, I must do them the Justice to observe, that they have many good Qualities; and that they love the *Europeans*, to whom they sell their Commodities at very reasonable Rates. They have a mortal Hatred for those, who being too self-interested and covetous, are always endeavouring to enrich themselves to the Prejudice of others. Their chief Commodities are Beavers-Skins, which they bring from above a hundred and fifty Leagues off their Habitations, to exchange them with the *English* and [44] *Dutch*, whom they

¹ Julien Garnier and Pierre Raffeix, long missionaries among the Iroquois tribes—the former from 1668 to 1685, the latter from 1671 to 1680.—ED.

affect more than the Inhabitants of *Canada*, because they are more affable, and sell them their Commodities cheaper.

One of our own Men, nam'd *Anthony Broffard*, who understood very well the Language of the *Iroquefe*, and therefore was Interpreter to *M. de la Motte*, told their Assembly,

First, That we were come to pay them a Visit, and smoak with them in their Pipes, a Ceremony which I shall describe anon: And then we deliver'd our Presents, consisting of Axes, Knives, a great Collar of white and blue Porcelain,¹ with some Gowns. We made Presents upon every Point we propos'd to them, of the same nature as the former.

Secondly, We desir'd them, in the next place to give Notice to the five Cantons of their Nation, that we were about to build a Ship, or great wooden Canow above the great Fall of the River *Niagara*, to go and fetch *European* Commodities by a more convenient passage than the ordinary one, by the *River St. Laurence*, whose rapid Currents make it dangerous and long; and that by these means we should afford them our Commodities cheaper than the *English* and *Dutch* of *Boston* and *New-York*. This Pretence was specious enough, and very well contriv'd to engage that barbarous Nation to extirpate

¹ The term commonly used by the French for the beads which served the Indians as both money and adornment; the same as the "wampum" of English writers. Originally cut from shells by crude and slow methods, these beads were largely replaced, when the savages began to trade with white men, by others of glass, porcelain, etc., manufactured in Europe. They were strung together on cords or threads; or were woven into bands one to four inches wide, which were called "belts" or "collars." For description, use, and history of wampum, or porcelain, see *Jes. Relations*, viii, pp. 312-314; xii, 277; xlv, 301.—ED.

the *English* and *Dutch* out of *America*: For they suffer the *Europeans* among them only for the Fear they have of them, or else for the Profit they make in Bartering their Commodities with them.

Thirdly, We told them farther, that we should provide them at the River *Niagara* with a Black-smith and a Gun-smith, to mend their Guns, Axes, &c. having no body among them that understood that Trade, and that for the conveniency of their whole Nation, we would settle those Workmen on the Lake of *Ontario*, at the Mouth of the River *Niagara*. [45] We threw again among them seven or eight Gowns, and some Pieces of fine Cloth, which they cover themselves with from the Waist to the Knees. This was in order to engage them on our side, and prevent their giving ear to any who might suggest ill things of us, entreating them first to acquaint us with the Reports that should be made unto them to our Prejudice, before they yielded their Belief to the same.

We added many other Reasons which we thought proper to persuade them to favour our Design. The Presents we made unto them, either in Cloth or Iron, were worth above 400 Livres,¹ besides some other *European* Commodities, very scarce in that Country: For the best Reasons in the World are not lifted to among them, unless they are enforced with Presents.

I forgot to observe, that before our Interpreter began to

¹ A French money of account, in value nearly equal to the modern franc (or about twenty cents U. S. money). The livre of Tours was worth 20 sous, that of Paris 25 sous.—ED.

talk of these matters with the Council, M. *de la Motte* order'd him to tell the *Iroquefe*, That he would enter into no Particulars in prefence of Father *Garnier* a Jefuite, whom he much fufpected: Whereupon the old Senators order'd the faid Father to withdraw. As I had a great Refpect for him, I went out likewise to bear part of the Affront put upon him, and to let M. *la Motte* fee that he had no reason to defire me to go to the Council with him, fince he had refolv'd to affront in my prefence a Jefuite-Miffionary, who was amongft that barbarous Nation, without any other Defign but to inftroct them in the Truth of the Gofpel. This was the reason why I was not prefent in the Council the firft Day that we acquainted the *Iroquefe* with the fubject of our Embaffie. I eafily obferv'd that M. *la Motte* had been bred up amongft People profefs'd Enemies of all Monks and Priests; from whence I concluded, that he would lay upon me all the Overfights he might commit in his Negotiation: But I [46] thought it was better he fhould be deceiv'd by thofe he employ'd, than to be fo my felf; and therefore would never meddle with any Temporal Concerns, though earneftly defir'd by him and others. The *Iroquefe*, and other wild Nations, had a great Love for me upon that Account: They have fupply'd me with Food for my fubfiftance, and reliev'd me upon other Occafions, only becaufe they obferv'd I was not guided by a private felf-Interelt; and truly whenever they made me any Prefents in return of thofe I had made unto them, I immediately gave them to their Children.

The next Day the *Iroquefe* anfwer'd our Difcourfe and

Presents Article by Article, having laid upon the Ground several little pieces of Wood, to put them in mind of what had been said the Day before in the Council; their Speaker, or President, held in his Hand one of these Pieces of Wood, and when he had answer'd one Article of our Propofal, he laid it down, with some Presents of black and white Porcelain, which they use to string upon the smallest Sinews of Beasts; and then took up another Piece of Wood; and so of all the rest, till he had fully answer'd our Speech, of which those Pieces of Wood, and our Presents put them in mind. When his Discourse was ended, the oldest Man of their Assembly cry'd aloud for three times, *Niaoua*; that is to say, *It is well, I thank thee*; which was repeated with a full Voice, and in a tuneful manner by all the other Senators.

'Tis to be observ'd here, that the Savages, though some are more cunning than others, are generally all addicted to their own Interests; and therefore though the *Iroquese* seem'd to be pleas'd with our Proposals, they were not really so; for the *English* and *Dutch* affording them the *European* Commodities at cheaper Rates than the *French* of *Canada*, they had a greater Inclination for them than for us. That People, tho' [47] so barbarous and rude in their Manners, have however a Piece of Civility peculiar to themselves; for a Man would be accounted very impertinent, if he contradicted any thing that is said in their Council, and if he does not approve even the greatest Abfurdities therein propos'd; and therefore they always answer, *Niaoua*; that is to say, *Thou art in the right, Brother; that is well.*

Notwithstanding that seeming Approbation, they believe what they please and no more; and therefore 'tis impossible to know when they are really persuaded of those things you have mention'd unto them, which I take to be one of the greatest Obstructions to their Conversion; For their Civility hindring them from making any Objection, or contradicting what is said unto them, they seem to approve of it, though perhaps they laugh at it in private, or else never bestow a Moment to reflect upon it, such being their Indifference for a future Life. From these Observations, I conclude that the Conversion of that People is to be despair'd of, 'till they are subdu'd by the *Europeans*, and that their Children have another sort of Education, unless God be pleas'd to work a Miracle in their Favour.

While we were still with the *Iroquesse*, their Parties made an Excursion toward *Virginia*, and brought two Prisoners with them, one whereof was *Houtouagaba*,¹ which in the Language of the *Iroquesse*, signifies a talkative or babling Fellow, and the other of the Nation of *Gannieffinga*,² whither some *English Franciscans* were sent Missionaries. The *Iroquesse* spar'd the Life of this last, but put to death the former, with such

¹ Probably a misprint for Ontouagannha, the name given by the Iroquois to the Algonquian tribe generally known as Shawnese. The term is defined by Jesuit missionary writers as indicating a people who use a barbarous dialect, or who are ignorant and rude. The Shawnese, a migratory people, wandered, at various times, from the Tennessee River to the mountainous region of Pennsylvania, and westward into Ohio (where they probably were in Hennepin's time). See *Jes. Relations*, xlvii, pp. 145, 316; lxi, p. 249.—ED.

² Perhaps a reference to the Gannaouens, or Kanawhas, the same as the Piscataways; a tribe in Maryland, friendly to the English; they lived on the upper Potomac River.—ED.

exquisite Torments, that *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Maximilian*, never invented the like, to exercise the Patience of the Martyrs of the Primitive Church with all.

They use commonly that Inhumanity towards all the Prisoners they take in their Warlike Expeditions; but the worst of it is, that their Torments last [48] sometimes a Month. When they have brought them into their *Canton*, they lay them upon some pieces of Wood, made like a *St. Andrew's* Cross, to which they tie the Legs and Arms of those miserable Wretches, and expose them to Gnats and other Flies, who sting them to death. The Children of those barbarous Parents, cut pieces of Flesh out of their Flanks, Thighs, or some other part of their Bodies; and when they have boyl'd it, force those poor Wretches to eat thereof. The *Iroquese* eat some pieces of it themselves, as well as their Children; and the better to inspire those little Canibals with Hatred for their Enemies, and the desire to extirpate them, they give them their Blood to drink in some little Porrengers made of Barks of Trees. Thus do these poor Creatures end their Life after a long and unspeakable Torment.

That horrid Cruelty oblig'd us to leave the Cabin, or Cotage of the chief Captain of that barbarous People, to shew them the Horrour we had of their Inhumanity, and never eat with them since, but return'd the same way we went through the Woods to the River *Niagara*. And this was all the success of our Ambassie.

CHAP. XVI.

*A Description of a Ship of Sixty Tuns, which we built near the
Streights of the Lake Erie, during the Winter and Spring of
the Year 1679.*

ON the 14th of *January* we arrived at our Habitation of *Niagara*, very weary of the Fatigues of our Voyage. We had no other Food but *Indian Corn*; but by good luck for us, the Fishery of the Whittings, I have already spoken of, was then in season, and made our *Indian Corn* more relishing. We [49] made use of the Water, in which the Fish was boiled, instead of Broth of Meat; for when it grows cold in the Pot, it congeals it self like some Veal-Broth.

On the 20th arrived M. *de la Salle* from Fort *Frontenac*, from whence he was sent with a great Barque to supply us with Provisions, Rigging, and Tackling for the Ship we design'd to build at the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*; but that Barque was unfortunately cast away on the Southern Coast of the Lake *Ontario*, by the fault of two Pilots, who could not agree about the Course they were to steer, tho' they were then only within two Leagues of *Niagara*. The Sea-men have call'd this Place the *Mad-Cape*. The Anchors and Cables were sav'd, but several Canows made of Barks of Trees with Goods and Commodities were lost. These disappointments

were such as would have dissuaded from any farther Enterprize all other Persons but such who had form'd the generous Design of making a New Discovery in the Country.

M. *de la Salle* told us, that before he lost his Barque, he had been with the *Iroquese Tsonnontouans*, and had so dexterously gain'd their Affection, that they had talk'd to him of our Embassie with Applause, and had given him their Consent for the Execution of our Undertaking. This good Intelligence lasted but a little while; for certain Persons, who made it their Business to cross our Design, inspir'd the *Iroquese* with many Suspicions about the Fort we were building at *Niagara*, which was in a great forwardness; and their Suspicions grew so high, that we were oblig'd to give over our Building for some time, contenting our selves with an Habitation encompass'd with Palisado's.

On the 22th of the said Month, we went two Leagues above the great Fall of *Niagara*, where we made a Dock for Building the Ship we wanted for our Voyage. This was the most convenient place [50] we could pitch upon, being upon a River which falls into the Streight between the Lake *Erie* and the great Fall of *Niagara*.¹ The 26th, the Keel of the Ship and some other Pieces being ready, M. *de la Salle* sent the Master-Carpenter to desire me to drive in the first Pin; but my Profession obliging me to decline that Honour, he did it himself,

¹ The location of this place, where was built the first sailing-vessel on the Upper Lakes, is identified by Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 132, *note*) as the mouth of Cayuga Creek, N. Y. See O. H. Marshall's "Building and Voyage of the Griffon in 1679," in *Publications of Buffalo Historical Society*, i (Buffalo, 1879); and C. K. Remington's *Shipyard of the Griffon* (Buffalo, 1891).—ED.

and promis'd Ten *Louis d'Or's*, to encourage the Carpenter and further the Work. The Winter being not half so hard in that Country as in *Canada*, we employ'd one of the two Savages of the Nation call'd the *Wolf*, whom we kept for Hunting, in building some Cabins made of Rinds of Trees; and I had one made on purpose to perform Divine Service therein on *Sundays*, and other occasions.

M. *de la Salle* having some urgent Business of his own, return'd to Fort *Frontenac*, leaving for our Commander one *Tonti*, an *Italian* by Birth, who had been forc'd to retire into *France* after the Revolution of *Naples*, in which his Father was concern'd.¹ I conducted M. *de la Salle* as far as the Lake *Ontario*, at the Mouth of the River *Niagara*, where he order'd a House to be built for the Smith we had promis'd to the *Iroquese*; but this was only to amuze them, and therefore I cannot but own that the Savages are not to be blam'd for having not believ'd every thing they were told by M. *la Motte* in his Embassie already related.

He undertook his Journey a-foot over the Snow, having no other Provisions but a little Sack of *Indian* Corn roasted, which fail'd him two Days before he came to the Fort, which is above fourscore Leagues distant from the Place where he left us. However, he got home safely with two Men, and a Dog, who dragg'd his Baggage over the Ice, or frozen Snow.

When I return'd to our Dock, I understood that most

¹ Henri de Tonty was La Salle's lieutenant and trusted friend, amid all the difficulties, dangers, and losses in which the explorer was involved. It was Tonty who built Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River, where he remained until 1700; he then joined Iberville on the Mississippi. In 1704 he died at Mobile, of yellow fever.—ED.

of the *Iroquefe* were gone to wage War with a Nation on the other fide of the Lake *Erie*. In the [51] mean time, our Men continu'd with great Application to build our Ship; for the *Iroquefe* who were left behind, being but a fmall number, were not fo insolent as before, though they came now and then to our Dock, and exprefs'd fome Difcontent at what we were doing. One of them in particular, feigning himfelf drunk, attempted to kill our Smith, but was vigorously repuls'd by him with a red-hot Iron-barr, which, together with the Reprimand he receiv'd from me, oblig'd him to be gone. Some few Days after, a Savage Woman gave us notice, that the *Tfonnontouans* had refolv'd to burn our Ship in the Dock, and had certainly done it, had we not been always upon our Guard.

Thefe frequent Alarms from the Natives, together with the Fears we were in of wanting Provisions, having loft the great Barque from Fort *Frontenac*, which fhould have reliev'd us, and the *Tfonnontouans* at the fame time refufing to give us of their Corn for Money, were a great Difcouragement to our Carpenters, whom, on the other hand, a Villain amongft us endeavour'd to feducè: That pitiful Fellow had feveral times attempted to run away from us into *New-York*, and would have been likely to pervert our Carpenters, had I not confirm'd them in their good Refolution, by the Exhortations I us'd to make every Holy-day after Divine Service; in which I reprefented to them, that the Glory of God was concern'd in our Undertaking, befides the Good and Advantage of our Chriftian Colonies; and therefore exhorted them to redouble

their Diligence, in order to free our selves from all those Inconveniencies and Apprehensions we then lay under.

The two Savages we had taken into our Service, went all this while a Hunting, and supply'd us with Wild-Goats, and other Beasts for our Subsistence; which encourag'd our Workmen to go on with their Work more briskly than before, infomuch that in a [52] short time our Ship was in a readiness to be launch'd; which we did, after having blest'd the same according to the use of the *Romish* Church. We made all the haste we could to get it a-float, though not altogether finish'd, to prevent the Designs of the Natives, who had resolv'd to burn it.

The Ship was call'd the *Griffin*, alluding to the Arms of Count *Frontenac*, which have two *Griffins* for *Supporters*; and besides, M. *la Salle* us'd to say of this Ship, while yet upon the Stocks, That he would make the *Griffin* fly above the *Ravens*.¹ We fir'd three Guns, and sung *Te Deum*, which was attended with loud Acclamations of Joy; of which those of the *Iroquese*, who were accidentally present at this Ceremony, were also Partakers; for we gave them some Brandy to drink, as well as to our Men, who immediately quitted their Cabins of Rinds of Trees, and hang'd their Hammocks under the Deck of the Ship, there to lie with more security than a-shoar. We did the like, infomuch that the very same Day we were all on board, and thereby out of the reach of the Insults of the Savages.

The *Iroquese* being return'd from Hunting Beavers, were mightily surpriz'd to see our Ship a-float, and call'd us *Oikon*,

¹ In sarcastic allusion to the black gowns of the Jesuits.— Ed.

that is in their Language, *Most penetrating Wits*: For they could not apprehend how in so short a time we had been able to build so great a Ship, though it was but 60 Tuns.¹ It might have been indeed call'd a moving Fortrefs; for all the Savages inhabiting the Banks of those Lakes and Rivers I have mention'd, for five hundred Leagues together, were fill'd with Fear as well as Admiration when they saw it.

The best Designs are often cross'd by some unexpected Accidents, which God permits to happen, to try Mens Constancy, as I experienc'd at that time. One of our Crew gave me notice, that the *Sieur de Tonti* our Commander entertain'd some Jealousie of [53] me, because I kept a Journal of all the considerable Things that were transacted; and that he design'd to take the same from me. This Advice oblig'd me to stand upon my Guard, and take all other Precautions, to secure my Observations, and remove the Jealousie that Gentleman had of me: For I had no other Design but to keep our Men to their Duty, and to Exercises of Piety and Devotion, for preventing Disorders, and for the furtherance of our Common Undertaking.

In the mean time, our Enemies spread very disadvantageous Reports of us in *Canada*, where we were represented as rash and inconsiderate Persons, for venturing upon so dangerous a Voyage, from which, in their Opinion, none of us would ever return. This, together with the Difficulties we labour'd under for transporting the Rigging of our Ship,

¹ In his *Louisiane* (ed. 1683, p. 46), Hennepin says that it was of forty-five tons.—ED.

and the other Inconveniencies necessarily attending a Voyage through an unknown Country, Lakes, and Rivers, where no *European* had travell'd before, and the Oppositions from the *Iroquese*, wrought in me an unparallel'd Vexation. But these Reports were still more prejudicial to M. *la Salle*, whose Creditors, without enquiring into the Truth of the Matter, or expecting his Return from Fort *Frontenac*, seiz'd all his Effects in *Canada*; though that very Fort alone, the Property whereof belong'd to him, was worth twice more than all the Debts he ow'd. However, it being impossible to stop the Mouth of our Enemies, who had no other Design, but to oblige us to give over our Enterprize, notwithstanding the Trouble and great Charge we had been at for our Preparations, we resolv'd to wait with Patience, the Opportunities Divine Providence would present us with, and to pursue with Vigour and Constancy our Design.

Being thus prepar'd against all Discouragements, I went up in a Canou with one of our Savages to the [54] Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, notwithstanding the strong Current which I master'd with great difficulty. I founded the Mouth of the Lake, and found, contrary to the Relations that had been made unto me, that a Ship with a brisk Gale might sail up to the Lake, and surmount the Rapidity of the Current; and that therefore with a strong North, or North-East Wind, we might bring our Ship into the Lake *Erie*. I took also a view of the Banks of the Streight, and found that in case of need we might put some of our Men a-shoar to haul the Ship, if the Wind was not strong enough.

CHAP. XVII.

The Author's Return to Fort Frontenac.

BEFORE we could go on with our intended Discovery, I was oblig'd to return to Fort *Frontenac*, to bring along with me two Monks of my own Order, to help me in the Function of my Ministry. I left our Ship riding upon two Anchors, within a league and a half of the Lake *Erie*, in the Streight, between the said Lake and the great Fall of *Niagara*. Mr. *Charon*, an Inhabitant of *Canada*, desir'd to go with me, to avoid the ill Usage he receiv'd from M. *Tonti*, who was an irreconcilable Enemy of all the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, having been, as he thought, hardly us'd by the *Spaniards*, in the Revolution of *Naples*, in which he was concern'd as well as his Father.

We embark'd in a Canou with one of our Savages, and fell down the Streight till we came to the great Fall, where we went a-shoar, and carry'd our Canou over-land to the Foot of the great Rock already mention'd, and from thence we continu'd our Course to the Mouth of the Lake *Ontario*, where [55] we found the Barque or Brigantine we have spoken of, which the *Sieur la Forest*¹ had brought from Fort

¹ La Forest was a lieutenant under La Salle, who left him in charge of Fort Frontenac; La Forest remained there until 1685, when he joined Tonty in Illinois. Five years later, these two obtained a grant of Fort St. Louis, and a limited trading-permit—

Frontenac. M. la Forest having spent some Days in that place for Bartering his Commodities with the Natives, we embark'd on board his Brigantine, together with fifteen or sixteen Savage Women, who took the opportunity to sail forty Leagues by Water, which otherwise they had been oblig'd to travel a-foot over-land through the Woods; but they not being us'd to this way of Travelling, fell so sick, that their vomiting created an insufferable Stink in our Ship. Being arriv'd into the River of *Aoueguen*,¹ M. la Forest exchang'd some Brandy for Beaver-Skins; but I must confess this Commerce of Strong-Waters was never acceptable to me; for if the Savages drink but a little too much of that Liquor, they are worse and more dangerous than mad Men. Having done our Business in that Place, we sail'd from the Southern to the Northern Coasts of the Lake; and the Wind being favourable we quickly pass'd by the Village which lies on the other side of *Kente* and *Ganeouffe*, but were becalm'd not far from Fort *Frontenac*, which oblig'd me to get into a Canou with two Savages to manage it. We landed in the Island of *Goilans*,² so nam'd from Sea-Fouls of that Name, who abound in that Place, and lay their Eggs upon the Sand, where they are hatch'd by the Heat of the Sun. I carry'd away along with us four Baskets full of them, which we found very relishing in Omelets and Pancakes.

favors which were afterward revoked, La Forest being ordered back to Canada. He was commandant at Detroit from 1710 until his death in 1714.—ED.

¹ More often written Chouaguen; the Oswego River.—ED.

² Gull Island, according to Shea (in his translation of Hennepin's *Louisiane*, p. 88, note 1).—ED.

I was kindly receiv'd by four Missionaries of my own Order that I found there, viz. Father *Gabriel de la Ribourde*, *Luke Buisset*, *Zenobe Mambre*, and *Milibon Watteau*, all Natives of the *Spanish Netherlands*. They told me that they knew how much I had suffer'd in my *Mission* during the Winter, and chiefly from that *Italian* who deserted the Service of his Natural Prince, that is *Tonti* I have already spoken of. I [56] conceal'd part of the Discouragements I had met with, because I design'd to engage Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe* in our Voyage, and also because I knew that M. *de la Salle*, whose Temper I was acquainted with by my own Experience, made a constant use of this famous Maxim, *Divide & impera*, to dispose with a greater facility of the Men under him to compass his own Designs: And having as great a Passion as he to discover some New Countries, I thought it best to make no Complaints, which he took very kindly, and receiv'd me in a very obliging manner.

That Gentleman was Judicious, and of extraordinary Parts, and very desirous to make himself famous by some New Discoveries, about which we had frequent Conferences. He told me several times, That he knew no Religious Order so fit as ours for improving New Colonies; and he was a very good Judge in those Matters, having spent nine or ten Years in another Order, of which he had disingag'd himself by Consent of the General,¹ who in the Act of his Dismission under his own Hand, gives this noble Character of him, That he

¹ La Salle was a pupil of the Jesuits in Rouen, until his fifteenth year; and became a novice in that order at Paris, Oct. 5, 1658. Two years later, he took the three vows

had liv'd amongst the Monks of his Order, without giving the least suspicion of *Venial Sin*. These are the very Words of the Act, for I have perus'd it my self. He likewise told me, That being perswaded that we might be very useful to him in his Designs, he was resolv'd to do something in favour of our Order; and having call'd us together on the 27th of May, 1679, he acquainted us, That being Proprietary and Governor of Fort *Frontenac*, he would order in his Will, That no other religious Order but ours, should be suffer'd to settle themselves near the Fort; he afterwards mark'd out a Church-yard; and having created a publick Notary, he order'd him to draw up an Instrument, whereby the said M. *la Salle* gave to our Order the Property of Eighteen Acres of Ground [57] along the side of the Lake *Ontario* near the Fort, and above a Hundred Acres more in the next Forest to be clear'd and grubb'd up. We accepted this Gift in the Name of our Order, and sign'd the Deed, which was the first that ever was transacted in that Country. The Notary's Name was *la Meterie*.

This being done, he desir'd those *Franciscans* that were to come with me, to prepare themselves for their Voyage; but the Wind being against us, we had a sufficient time for it, and to take our Measures concerning our dangerous Mission. We made frequent Visits to the Savages, whom we had perswaded to settle themselves near the Fort, who, together with

of a Jesuit, assumed the name of Ignatius, and was known in the order as Frère Robert Ignace. . . . On March 28, 1667, he left the order, and departed from the college at La Flèche; he did not go to Canada until 1668.—*Jes. Relations*, lx, pp. 319-320.

their Children, whom we had taught to read and write, lamented much our Departure; and assur'd us, That if we did return in a short time, they would persuade the rest of the Inhabitants of the Village of *Ganeouffe*, to come and settle themselves in the Neighbourhood of the Fort.

CHAP. XVIII.

An Account of our Second Embarkment from Fort Frontenac.

AFTER some few Days, the Wind coming fair, Fathers Gabriel, Zenobe, and I, went on board the Brigantine, and in a short time arriv'd in the River of the *Tfonnontouans*,¹ which runs into the Lake *Ontario*, where we continu'd several Days, our Men being very busie in bartering their Commodities with the Natives, who flock'd in great numbers about us to see our Brigantine, which they admir'd, and to exchange their Skins for Knives, Guns, Powder and Shot, but especially for Brandy, which they love above all things. In the mean time, we had built a small Cabin of Barks of Trees about [58] half a League in the Woods, to perform Divine Service therein without interruption, and waited till all our Men had done their Buifness. M. *la Salle* arriv'd in a Canou about eight Days after; he had taken his course by the Southern Coast of the Lake, to go to the Village of the *Tfonnontouans*, to whom he made several Presents to engage them in our Interest, and remove the Jealousie they had conceiv'd of our Undertaking, through the Suggestions of our Enemies. All

¹ Irondequoit Creek, which flows into Irondequoit Bay, a little east of the Genesee River.—ED.

these Impediments retarded us so long, that we could not reach the River *Niagara* before the 30th of *July*.

On the 4th of the said Month, I went over-land to the Fall of *Niagara*, with a Serjeant call'd *la Fleur*, and thence to our Dock within six Leagues of the Lake *Ontario*; but we did not find there the Ship we had built: And met with a new Misfortune; for two young Savages robb'd us of the Bisket we had for our subsistence, which reduc'd us to great Extremity. We found at last a half rotten Canou without Oars, which we mended as well as we could; and having made an Oar, we ventur'd our selves in that weak and shatter'd Canou, and went up the Streight to look for our Ship, which we found riding within a league of the pleasant Lake *Erie*. We were very kindly receiv'd, and likewise very glad to find our Ship well rigg'd, and ready fitted out with all the Necessaries for sailing. She carry'd five small Guns, two whereof were Brafs, and three Harquebuzes *a-crock*.¹ The Beak-head was adorn'd with a flying Griffin, and an Eagle above it; and the rest of the Ship had the same Ornaments as Men of War use to have.

The *Iroquesse* were then returning from a Warlike Expedition with several Slaves, and were much surpriz'd to see so big a Ship, which they compar'd to a Fort, beyond their Limits. Several came on board, and seem'd to admire above all things the bigness of [59] our Anchors; for they could not apprehend how we had been able to bring them through the

¹ Fr. *à croc*; that is, with a prop or support.—ED.

rapid Currents of the River *St. Laurence*. This oblig'd them to use often the Word *Gannorom*, which in their Language signifies, That is wonderful. They wonder'd also to find there a Ship, having seen none when they went; and did not know from whence it came, it being about 250 Leagues from *Canada*.

Having forbid the Pilot to attempt to sail up the Currents of the Streight till farther order, we return'd the 16th and 17th to the Lake *Ontario*, and brought up our Bark to the great Rock of *Niagara*, and anchor'd at the foot of the three Mountains,¹ where we were oblig'd to make our *Portage*; that is, to carry over-land our Canou's and Provisions, and other Things, above the great Fall of the River, which interrupts the Navigation: And because most of the Rivers of that Country are interrupted with great Rocks, and that therefore those who sail upon the same, are oblig'd to go over-land above those Falls, and carry upon their Backs their Canou's and other Things. They express it with this Word, To make our *Portage*; of which the Reader is desir'd to take notice, for otherwise the following Account, as well as the Map, would be unintelligible to many.

Father *Gabriel*, though of Sixty five Years of Age, bore with great Vigour the Fatigue of that Voyage, and went thrice up and down those three Mountains, which are pretty high and steep. Our Men had a great deal of trouble; for

¹This term refers to the three grades of the acclivity opposite the "great rock" (p. 31, note 2, ante), which stands at the foot of the rapids above Lewiston, Ont. The triple ascent on the east shore formed the portage, or carrying-place, of travelers around the Falls. See Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 132, note.—ED.

they were oblig'd to make feveral Turns to carry the Provisions and Ammunition, and the Portage was two Leagues long. Our Anchors were fo big, that four Men had much ado to carry one; but the Brandy we gave them was fuch an Encouragement, that they furmounted cheerfully all the Difficulties of that Journey; and fo we got on board our [60] Ship all our Provisions, Ammunitions, and Commodities.

While we continu'd there, M. *la Salle* told me, That he understood by fome of our Men, that I very much blam'd the Intrigues of fome Monks of *Canada* with the *Iroquefe*, and their Neighbours of *New-York* and *New-Orange*; which oblig'd me in his prefence, to tell my Brethren the *Franciscans*, That I perceiv'd that M. *la Salle* was minded to furprize me, and oblige me to revile fome Perfons, whom he represented as Traders and Merchants; and then abating fomewhat of my Tone, I concluded, That notwithstanding the false Reports that had been made to him, I would entertain a good Opinion of thofe very Perfons whom he defign'd to make my Enemies; and that I wou'd rather give over our Enterprize than be impos'd upon at that rate. This vigourous Anfwer furpriz'd M. *la Salle*, who told me, That he was perfuaded that thofe who had made him thofe Reports, were not honeft Men; and that therefore he would take all imaginable care of my Perfon during the Voyage, and espoufe my Intereft on all occafions. He was indeed afraid that I fhould leave him, which had been a great difappointment to his Affairs; for Father *Gabriel* would have left him alfo. That good Man was come with us without any leave of his Superi-

our, only upon a Letter from the Provincial Commissioner of *Canada*, whose Name was *Valentin le Roux*, wherein he told *M. la Salle*, that the said Father *Gabriel* might go along with him. However, he did not believe that he would do so without an Order in Writing; and for that reason came, some Days after our departure, to Fort *Frontenac*, where *M. la Salle* obtain'd that Order from him, for fear of being accus'd to have expos'd a Man of that Age to so dangerous a Voyage, in which he was like to perish, as really he did, as we shall see by and by.

[61] *M. la Salle* understanding that I and the said Father *Gabriel*, were gone to view the great Fall of *Niagara*, he came to us with some Refreshments to reconcile himself with me, and prevent my return to *Canada*. He met with no great difficulty; for the great desire I had to discover a New Country, made me very easie; so that we return'd on board our Ship in the beginning of *August*, 1679.

CHAP. XIX.

An Account of our Third Embarkment from the Mouth of the Lake Erie.

WE have already observ'd, that the *Spaniards* were the first Discoverers of *Canada*, and that the *Recolleets* are the first Religious Order, who attended the *French Colonies* in that Country. Those Good Men liv'd in great Friendship with the Savages call'd *Hurons*, by whom they understood that the *Iroquese* made frequent Excursions beyond *Virginia* and *New-Sweden*, near a great Lake, from whence they brought a great many Slaves; which gave occasion to the *Hurons* to call that Lake *Erige*, or *Erike*; that is to say, the Lake of the *Cat*. The Inhabitants of *Canada* have softned that Word, and call it *Erie*, as we have already observ'd.

We endeavour'd several times to sail up that Lake; but the Wind being not strong enough, we were forc'd to wait for it. In the mean time, M. *la Salle* caus'd our Men to grub up some Land, and sow several sorts of Pot-Herbs and Pulse, for the conveniency of those who should settle themselves there, to maintain our Correspondence with Fort *Frontenac*. We found there a great quantity of wild Cherries and *Rocambol*, a sort of Garlick, which grow naturally in that Ground. We left Father *Melitbon*, with [62] some Work-men,

at our Habitation above the Fall of *Niagara*; and most of our Men went a-shoar to lighten our Ships, the better to sail up the Lake.

The Wind veering to the North-East, and the Ship being well provided, we made all the Sail we could, and with the help of Twelve Men who hall'd from the Shoar, overcame the Rapidity of the Current, and got up into the Lake. The Stream is so violent, that our Pilot himself despair'd of Success. When it was done, we sung *Te Deum*, and discharg'd our Cannon and other Fire-Arms, in presence of a great many *Iroquesse*, who came from a Warlike Expedition against the Savages of *Tintonba*; that is to say, the *Nation of the Meadows*,¹ who live above four hundred Leagues from that Place. The *Iroquesse* and their Prisoners were much surpriz'd to see us in the Lake, and did not think before that, we should be able to overcome the Rapidity of the Current: They cry'd several times *Gannorom*, to shew their Admiration. Some of the *Iroquesse* had taken the measure of our Ship, and immediately went for *New-York*, to give notice to the *English* and *Dutch* of our sailing into the Lake: For those Nations affording their Commodities cheaper than the *French*, are also more belov'd by the Natives.

On the 7th of *August*, 1679, we went on board, being in all four and thirty Men, including two *Recolleets* who came to

¹ The Teton or Ti'-toⁿ-waⁿ ("Prairie dwellers"), a Siouan tribe, a branch of the Dakota confederacy. Early Siouan traditions indicate that the Teton took possession of the Black Hills region long before white men came among them; at present, they are located on reservations in both North and South Dakota. See W. J. McGee's "Siouan Indians," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1893-94, pp. 160, 190.—Ed.

us, and fail'd from the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, steering our Course West-South-West, with a favourable Wind; and though the Enemies of our Discovery had given out, on purpose to deterr us from our Enterprize, That the Lake *Erie* was full of Rocks and Sands, which render'd the Navigation impracticable, we run above twenty Leagues during the Night, though we founded all that while. The next Day the Wind being more favourable, we made above five and forty Leagues, keeping at an equal distance from the Banks of the Lake, and doubled a [63] Cape to the West-ward, which we call'd the Cape of *St. Francis*. The next Day we doubled two other Capes,¹ and met with no manner of Rocks or Sands. We discover'd a pretty large Island towards the South-West, about seven or eight Leagues from the Northern Coast; that Island faces the Streight that comes from the Lake *Huron*.

The 10th, very early in the Morning, we pass'd between that Island and 7 or 8 lesser ones; and having fail'd near another, which is nothing but Sand, to the West of the Lake, we came to an Anchor at the Mouth of the Streight, which runs from the Lake *Huron* into that of *Erie*. The 11th, we went farther into the Streight, and pass'd between two small Islands, which make one of the finest Prospects in the World. This Streight is finer than that of *Niagara*, being thirty Leagues long, and every-where one League broad, except in the middle, which is wider, forming the Lake we have call'd *St. Claire*. The Navigation is easie on both sides, the Coast

¹ Hennepin's "Cape St. Francis" was probably the "Long Point" of to-day; and the other two, the projections now known as Pointe aux Pins and Pointe Pelée.—Ed.

being low and even. It runs directly from North to South.

The Country between those two Lakes is very well situated, and the Soil very fertile. The Banks of the Streight are vast Meadows, and the Prospect is terminated with some Hills covered with Vineyards, Trees bearing good Fruit, Groves, and Forests, so well dispos'd, that one would think Nature alone could not have made, without the Help of Art, so charming a Prospect. That Country is stock'd with Stags, Wild-Goats,¹ and Bears, which are good for Food, and not fierce as in other Countries; some think they are better than our Pork. Turkey-Cocks and Swans are there also very common; and our Men brought several other Beasts and Birds, whose Names are unknown to us, but they are extraordinary relishing.

[64] The Forests are chiefly made up of Walnut-trees, Chefnut-trees, Plum-trees, and Pear-trees, loaded with their own Fruit and Vines. There is also abundance of Timber fit for Building; so that those whose who shall be so happy as to inhabit that Noble Country, cannot but remember with Gratitude those who have discover'd the way, by venturing to sail upon an unknown Lake for above one hundred Leagues. That charming Streight lies between 40 and 41 Degrees of Northern Latitude.

¹ Probably small deer.—ED.

CHAP. XX.

An Account of what hapned in our Passage from the Lake Erie, unto the Lake Huron.

I HAD often advis'd M. *la Salle* to make a Settlement upon the Streight, between the Lake *Erie* and *Ontario*, where the Fishery is more plentiful; for that Settlement would have been very advantageous to us, to maintain our Communication with Fort *Frontenac*. I told him also, that it were fit to leave in that Settlement the Smith he and M. *la Motte* had promis'd to the *Iroquese*; and that it would be a means to engage that wild Nation in our Interest, and to trade only with us, whereby he would grow rich in a little time: But M. *la Salle*, and the Adventurers who were with him, would not hearken to my Advice; and told me, that they would make no Settlement within 100 Leagues of their Fort, lest other *Europeans* should get before them into the Country they were going to discover. This was their Pretence; but I soon observ'd that their Intention was to buy all the Furs and Skins of the remotest Savages, who, as they thought, did not know their Value; and so enrich themselves in one single Voyage.

[65] I endeavour'd also to persuade him to make a Settlement upon this charming Streight; for being in the midst of

so many Nations of Savages, we could not but have a good Trade amongst them. This was the Argument I made use of; but the main Reason, which I kept to my self, was to have an Opportunity to preach the Gospel to those ignorant Nations. M. *la Salle* would by no means hearken to my Advice, and told me he wonder'd at my Proposal, considering the great Passion I had a few Months before for the Discovery of a New Country.

The Current of that Streight is very violent, but not half so much as that of *Niagara*; and therefore we sail'd up with a brisk Gale, and got into the Streight between the Lake *Huron*, and the Lake *St. Claire*; this last is very shallow, especially at its Mouth. The Lake *Huron* falls into this of *St. Claire* by several Canals, which are commonly interrupted by Sands and Rocks. We founded all of them, and found one at last about one League broad without any Sands, its Depth being every where from three to eight Fathoms Water. We sail'd up that Canal, but were forc'd to drop our Anchors near the Mouth of the Lake; for the extraordinary quantity of Waters which came down from the upper Lake, and that of *Illinois*, because of a strong North-West Wind, had so much augmented the Rapidity of the Current of this Streight, that it was as violent as that of *Niagara*.

The Wind turning Southerly, we sail'd again; and with the help of twelve Men, who hall'd our Ship from the Shoar, got safely the 23th of *August* into the Lake *Huron*. We sung *Te Deum* a second time, to return our Thanks to the Almighty for our happy Navigation. We found in that Lake

a large Bay, the Banks of which the ancient *Hurons* inhabited.¹ They were converted to the Christian Religion [66] by the first *Franciscans* that came into *Canada*²; but the *Iroquese* have in a great measure destroy'd that Nation.

¹ Georgian Bay, which is separated from Lake Huron by the Manitoulin and other islands.—ED.

² The Récollet missionaries began a mission to the Hurons in 1623; but their feeble resources, and the vastness of the field, led them to call upon the Jesuits for aid. The latter order made prompt response, and sent thither missionaries in 1626; but all the missionaries were by the English conquerors deported to France in 1629, and it was the Jesuits alone who later evangelized all the Huron tribes. Their work is ignored by Hennepin.—ED.

CHAP. XXI.

An Account of our Navigation on the Lake Huron to Mississimakinak.

HAVING thus travell'd above 300 Leagues from *Quebec* to the Lake *Huron*, notwithstanding the rapid Currents and Lakes we went through, we continu'd our Voyage from the Mouth of this Lake, steering our Course North-North-East; but the next day, finding our selves near the Land, we steer'd North-North-West, and cross'd a Bay call'd *Sakinam*,¹ which may be thirty Leagues broad. The 24th, we run the same Course, but were becalm'd between some Islands, where we found but two Fathoms Water, which oblig'd us to make an easie sail part of the Night, to look for a good Anchorage, but in vain; and the Wind turning then Westerly, we bore to the North, to avoid the Coast till the Day appear'd. We founded all the Night long, because our Pilot, though a very understanding Man, was somewhat negligent. The 25th, we lay becalm'd till Noon, but then run North-West with a brisk Southerly Gale. The Wind turning South-West, we bore to the North to double a Cape; but then the Wind grew so violent, that we were forc'd to lie by all the Night. The 26th, the Storm continuing, we brought down our Main

¹ Saginaw, the large bay on the western side of Lake Huron.—ED.

Yards and Top-Mast, and let the Ship drive at the Mercy of the Wind, knowing no place to run into to shelter our selves. M. *la Salle*, notwithstanding he was a Courageous Man, began to fear, and told us we were undone; and therefore every body fell upon his Knees to say his Prayers, [67] and prepare himself for Death, except our Pilot, whom we could never oblige to pray; and he did nothing all that while but curse and swear against M. *la Salle*, who, as he said, had brought him thither to make him perish in a nasty Lake, and lose the Glory he had acquir'd by his long and happy Navigations on the Ocean. However, the Wind being somewhat abated, we hoisted up our Sail, and so we drove not above two Leagues. The 27th, in the Morning, we continu'd our Course North-West with a South-East Wind, which carry'd us the same Day to *Missilimakinak*, where we anchor'd in a Bay at six Fathoms Water, upon a slimy white Bottom. That Bay is shelter'd by the Coast, and a Bank lying from the South-West to the North; but it lies expos'd to the South Winds, which are very violent in that Country.

Missilimakinak is a Neck of Land to the North of the Mouth of the Streight, through which the Lake of the *Illinois* discharges it self into the Lake *Huron*.¹ That Canal is about three Leagues long, and one broad. About fifteen Leagues to the Eastward of *Missilimakinak*, there is another Point at the Mouth of the Streight, whereby the upper Lake

¹ Reference is evidently made here, not to the island, but to that projection of the north shore which lies between East Moran and West Moran Bays, and terminates in *Pointe la Barbe*. At the western end of East Moran Bay is the present village of St. Ignace; here must have been their anchorage.—Ed.

runs into that of *Huron*; which Streight is about five Leagues broad at its Mouth, and about fifteen Leagues long; but it grows narrow towards the Fall of *St. Mary*, which is a rapid Stream interrupted by several Rocks. However a Canow may go up by one side, but it requires a great Fatigue; and therefore the safest and easiest way is to make a Portage above the Fall, to go and trade with the Savages inhabiting the Banks of the upper Lake.

We lay between two different Nations of Savages; those who inhabit the Point of *Missilimakinak* are called *Hurons*, and the others, who are about three or four Leagues more Northward, are *Outtaouatz*.¹ Those Savages were equally surpriz'd to see [68] a Ship in their Country; and the Noise of our Cannon, of which we made a general Discharge, fill'd them with great astonishment. We went to see the *Outtaouatz*, and celebrated Mafs in their Habitation. M. *la Salle* was finely drefs'd, having a Scarlet Cloak with a broad Gold Lace, and most of his Men with their Arms attended him. The Chief Captains of that People receiv'd us with great Civilities after their own way, and some of them came on board with us to see our Ship, which rode all that while in the Bay or Creek I have spoken of. It was a diverting Prospect to see every

¹ A name (with many variants), anglicized as Ottawas, originally signifying "forest dwellers," referring to a sedentary Algonquian tribe whom Champlain found (1615) at the southern end of Georgian Bay. During the seventeenth century they gradually migrated, retreating before the Iroquois, to the mainland north of Georgian Bay, by way of the Manitoulin Islands. Many Hurons, after the dispersion of their nation (1649-50) took refuge among the Ottawas. Various bands of Ottawas still reside in Michigan and Ontario, especially on Manitoulin Island. Full accounts of this people and their early history are given in *Jes. Relations* (see Index, *art.* Ottawas).—ED.

Day above fixscore Canou's about it, and the Savages staring and admiring that fine Woodden Canou, as they call'd it. They brought us abundance of Whitings, and some Trouts of 50 and 60 pound Weight.

We went the next Day to pay a Visit to the *Hurons*, who inhabit a rising Ground on a Neck of Land over-against *Miffilimakinak*. Their Villages are fortifi'd with Pallisado's of 25 foot high, and always situated upon Eminences or Hills. They receiv'd us with more Respect than the *Outtaouatz*, for they made a triple Discharge of all the small Guns they had, having learn'd from some *Europeans*, that it is the greatest Civility amongst us. However, they took such a Jealousie to our Ship, that, as we understood since, they endeavour'd to make our Expedition odious to all the Nations about them.

The *Hurons* and *Outtaouatz* are in Confederacy together against the *Iroquese* their Common Enemy. They sow *Indian* Corn, which is their ordinary Food; for they have nothing else to live upon, except some Fish they take in the Lakes. They boil it with their *Sagamittee*, which is a kind of Broth made with Water and the Flour of the Corn, which they beat in a Mortar, made of the Trunk of a Tree, which they make hollow with Fire.

[69] There is another Settlement of Savages near the Fall of *St. Mary*. The *French* call them *Leapers*, because they live near that great Fall which they call a *Leap*.¹ These subsist

¹ A poor translation of *sault*, a "fall of water," and *Sauteurs*, "dwellers at the Sault," the French appellation of the Ojibwas (more commonly known as Chippewas).—ED.

together by Hunting Staggs, Elks, Beavers, and other Beasts, as also upon the Whittings we have already spoken of; who are taken with so much difficulty in this Place, that none but themselves are able to catch any. They sow no *Indian Corn*, because of the thick Fogs that are commonly on the Banks of the upper Lake, which stifle Corn before it grows.

Missilimakinak and the Fall of *St. Mary*, are the two most considerable Passages that all the Savages have of the West and North; for there are above two hundred Canou's that come through these Passes every Year, to carry their Commodities to the *French* at *Montreal* below *Fort Frontenac*.

Our Enterprize had been very successful hitherto; and we had reason to expect, that every body would have contributed to carry on vigorously our great Design to promote the Glory of God, as well as the Good of our Colonies: However, some of our own Men oppos'd it as much as they could; they represented us to the *Outtoauats* and their Neighbours as dangerous and ambitious Adventurers, who design'd to engross all the Trade of Furs and Skins, and invade their Liberty, the only thing which is dear to that People. The fifteen Men that *M. la Salle* had sent before him, had been seduc'd and almost drawn from his Service. The Goods which he had given them to exchange with the Natives, were dissipated and wasted; and instead of advancing as far as the *Illinois*, as they were order'd, they remain'd amongst the *Hurons*, notwithstanding the Exhortations and the Prayers of *M. Tonti* who Commanded them.

Our Men went into the Country to trade with the Natives, and engag'd themselves too far; so that they did not return to *Missilimakinak* till *November*: [70] M. *la Salle* being told that the Winds made the Navigation of the Lake very dangerous in the beginning of the Winter, resolv'd to continue his Voyage without tarrying any longer for the return of his Men.

CHAP. XXII.

An Account of our Sailing from Missilimakinak, into the Lake of the Illinois.

ON the 2d of *September* we weigh'd Anchor, and sail'd into the Lake of the *Illinois*; and came to an Island just at the Mouth of the Bay of the *Puans*, lying about forty Leagues from *Missilimakinak*: It is inhabited by some Savages of the Nation call'd *Poutouatami's*,¹ with whom some of the Men *M. la Salle* had sent the Year before, had barter'd a great quantity of Furs and Skins. We found our Men in the Island, who began to be very impatient, having so long waited our arrival.

The chief of that Nation had been formerly in *Canada*, and had an extraordinary Respect for Count *Frontenac*, who was Governour thereof; and upon that account receiv'd us with all the civility imaginable, and caus'd his Men to dance the *Calumet*, or Pipe, before us. This is a piece of Civility we shall describe anon. Our Ship was riding in the Bay about thirty Paces from the furthestmost Point of the Land, at a pretty good Anchorage, where we rode safely, notwithstanding a violent Storm which lasted four Days. And upon

¹ Formerly named, on this account, *Isle des Pouteouatamis* ("Pottawattomie Island"); now *Washington Island*.—ED.

this occasion, I cannot omit, without Injustice, the Generosity of that Brave Captain, who seeing our Ship tofs'd up by the Waves, and not knowing it was able to resist, ventur'd himself in his little Canou, and came to our assistance. He had the good Luck to get safe on board, and [71] told us he would at all times venture his Life, for saving the Children of *Onnontio*, Governour of *Canada*, who was his particular Friend. It must be observ'd, that that Governour is call'd *Onnontio*¹ by all the Savages.

M. *la Salle*, without asking any body's Advice, resolv'd to send back his Ship to *Niagara*, laden with Furs and Skins to discharge his Debts; our Pilot and five Men with him were therefore sent back, and order'd to return with all imaginable speed, to join us toward the Southern Parts of the Lake, where we should stay for them among the *Illinois*. They sailed the 18th of *September* with a Westerly Wind, and fir'd a Gun to take their leave. Tho' the Wind was favourable, it was never known what Course they steer'd, nor how they perish'd; for after all the Enquiries we have been able to make, we could never learn any thing else but the following Particulars.

The Ship came to an Anchor to the North of the Lake of the *Illinois*, where she was seen by some Savages, who told us that they advis'd our Men to sail along the Coast, and

¹ An Iroquois appellation, literally translating the name of Montmagny ("great Mountain"), first governor of Montreal. This name was afterward given, by the Hurons and Iroquois, to all governors of Canada and New York, and even to the monarchs of France and England. It was finally adopted also by the Algonquian tribes east of the Mississippi.—Ed.

not towards the middle of the Lake, because of the Sands that make the Navigation dangerous when there is any high Wind. Our Pilot, as I said before, was dissatisfy'd, and would steer as he pleas'd, without hearkning to the Advice of the Savages, who, generally speaking, have more Sense than the *Europeans* think at first; but the Ship was hardly a League from the Coast, when it was toss'd up by a violent Storm in such a manner, that our Men were never heard of since; and it is suppos'd that the Ship struck upon a Sand, and was there bury'd. This was a great loss for M. *la Salle* and other Adventurers; for that Ship, with its Cargo, cost above sixty thousand Livres. This will seem incredible to many, but not to those who will consider that the Rigging, Anchors, and Goods were [72] brought by Canou's from *Quebec* to Fort *Frontenac*; which is such a vast Charge, that the Carriage of every hundred Weight, either of Anchors, Cabels, and the like, cost eleven Livres.

CHAP. XXIII.

An Account of our Embarkment in Canows to continue our Discovery, from the Bay of Puans, to the Miamis on the Lake of the Illinois.

WE left the *Poutouatamis* on the 19th of September to continue our Voyage, being fourteen Men in all, in four Canou's. I had the Conduct of the smalleſt, though it carry'd 500 Weight and two Men; but my Fellow being newly come from *Europe*, and conſequently unſkill'd to manage theſe ſort of Boats, I had the whole trouble upon me in any ſtormy Weather. The other four Canou's were laden with a Smith's Forge, and Inſtruments, and Tools for Carpenters, Joyners, and Sawers, beſides our Goods and Arms.

We ſteer'd to the South towards the Continent, from which the Iſland of the *Poutouatamis* is near forty Leagues diſtant; but about the middle of the way, in the Night-time, we were ſurpriz'd with a ſudden Storm, whereby we were in great danger. The Waves came into our Canou's; and the Night was ſo dark, that we had much ado to keep Company together: However, we got a-ſhoar the next Day, where we continu'd till the Lake grew calm again, which was four Days after. In the mean time our Savage went a Hunting, but could kill nothing but a *Porcupine*, which made our Gourds and *Indian Corn* more reſiſhing.

[73] The Weather being fair, we continu'd our Voyage the 25th, and row'd all the Day, and best part of the Night, all along the Western Coast of the Lake of the *Illinois*; but the Wind growing too high for us, we thought fit to land upon a Rock, where we had nothing to shelter our selves against the Snow and the Rain but our Blankets. We continu'd there two Days, having made a little Fire with the Wood the Waves did supply us with. The 28th we proceeded on our Voyage; but the Wind forc'd us towards Night on a Rock cover'd with thick Bushes, where we remain'd three Days, and there made an end of all our Provisions, which consisted of Gourds and *Indian* Corn we had brought from the *Poutouatami's*. Our Canou's were so loaded, that we could not provide our selves for a longer time, and we expected to find provisions enough in our way.

We left that dismal Place the 1st of *October*, and after twelve Leagues rowing, though fasting, came to another Village of the *Poutouatami's*, who came upon the Shoar to receive us: But M. *la Salle* would not suffer any one to land, lest his Men should run away; and notwithstanding the bad Weather, we follow'd him three Leagues farther. We were in so great danger, that he flung himself into the Water with his three Men, and carry'd a-shoar their Canou upon their Shoulders, for else it had been broken to pieces. We were all oblig'd to do the same; and by these means sav'd our Canou's and Goods. I carry'd upon my Back that good Man Father *Gabriel*, whose great Age did not permit him to venture himself into the Water.

As we had no manner of Acquaintance with the Savages of the Village near which we landed, our Men prepar'd themselves to make a vigorous Defence in case they were attack'd; and in order to it, possess'd our selves of a rising Ground, where we could not [74] be surpriz'd, and where we might make head against a great number of Savages. We sent afterwards three Men to buy Provisions in the Village with the *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace, which the *Poutouatami's* of the Island had given us. I had forgot to mention that when they made us that Present, they observ'd a great many Ceremonies; and because that *Calumet* of Peace is the most sacred Thing amongst the Savages, I think fit to describe the same in the next Chapter.

CHAP. XXIV.

A Description of the Calumet, or Great Pipe.

THIS *Calumet* is the most mysterious Thing in the World among the Savages of the Continent of the Northern America; for it is us'd in all their important Transactions: However, it is nothing else but a large Tobacco-Pipe made of Red, Black, or White Marble: The Head is finely polish'd, and the *Quill*, which is commonly two Foot and a half long; is made of a pretty strong Reed, or Cane, adorn'd with Feathers of all Colours, interlac'd with Locks of Womens Hair. They tie to it two Wings of the most curious Birds they find, which makes their *Calumet* not much unlike *Mercury's* Wand, or that Staff Ambassadors did formerly carry when they went to treat of Peace. They sheath that Reed into the Neck of Birds they call *Huars*,¹ which are as big as our Geese, and spotted with Black and White; or else of a sort of Ducks who make their Nests upon Trees, though Water be their ordinary Element, and whose Feathers are of many different Colours. However, every Nation adorns the *Calumet* as they think fit according to their own Genius and the Birds they have in their Country.

[75] A Pipe, such as I have describ'd it, is a Pass and safe

¹This word means "loons," according to Shea (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 113, note †).—ED.

Conduct amongst all the Allies of the Nation who has given it; and in all Embassies, the Ambassadors carry that *Calumet* as the Symbol of Peace, which is always respected; for the Savages are generally persuaded, that a great Misfortune would befall 'em, if they violated the Publick Faith of the *Calumet*. All their Enterprizes, Delarations of War, or Conclusion of Peace, as well as all the rest of their Ceremonies, are sealed, if I may be permitted to say so, with this *Calumet*. They fill that Pipe with the best Tobacco they have, and then present it to those with whom they have concluded any great Affair, and smoak out of the same after them.¹ I had certainly perish'd in my Voyage, had it not been for this *Calumet* or Pipe, as the Reader will observe in perusing the following Account.

Our three Men, provided with this Pipe as a Pass, and very well Arm'd, went to the little Village of the Savages, which was about three Leagues from the place where we landed; but they found no body therein; for the Savages having heard that we had refus'd to land at the other Village, thought we were Enemies, and therefore had left their Habitation. Our Men finding no body in their Cabins, took some *Indian* Corn, and left in stead of it some Goods, to let them see that we were no Robbers, nor their Enemies. However, the Savages, to the number of twenty Men, arm'd with Axes, small Guns, Bows, and a sort of Club, which in their

¹ Regarding the use and importance of the calumet, or peace-pipe, see *Jes. Relations*, xii, p. 277; xxvi, 157, 161; xxviii, 295, 299; lviii, 97-99; lix, 115-119, 131; lxii, 267; lxv, 123-125, 267; lxviii, 159-161, 195, 203. See also Perrot's *Mémoire* (Tailhan's ed.), pp. 99, 100.—Ed.

Language they call *Break-heads*,¹ advanc'd near the Place where we stood; whereupon M. *la Salle*, with four Men very well arm'd, went toward them to speak with them, and desir'd them to come near us, for fear, as he said, a Party of our Men, who were gone a Hunting, should meet with them and kill them. They were persuaded to sit down at the foot of the Eminence where we were posted, and M. *la* [76] *Salle* spoke to them all the while of the subject matter of his Voyage, which he had undertaken for their good and advantage, as he told them. This was only to amuse them till our three Men return'd; who appearing with the *Calumet* of Peace, the Savages made a great Shout, and rose, and began to dance. We made them some Excuse because of our Men having taken some of their Corn, and told them they had left the true Value of it in Goods; which they took so well, that they sent immediately for more, and gave us the next Day as much as we could conveniently carry in our Canou's. They retir'd towards the Evening; and M. *la Salle* order'd some Trees to be cut down, and laid cross the way, to prevent any Surprise from the Savages.

The next Morning about ten a Clock, the Oldest of them came to us with their *Calumet* of Peace, and entertain'd us with some wild Goats they had taken. We return'd them our Thanks, and presented them with some Axes, Knives, and several little Toys for their Wives, with which they were very much pleas'd.

¹Fr. *casse-tête*, war-club; thus described by the missionary Sebastian Rale (*Jes. Relations*, lxvii, pp. 171, 173): "The war-club is made of a deer's horn or of wood, shaped like a cutlass, with a large ball at the end."—ED.

CHAP. XXV.

A Continuation of our Discovery; with an Account of our Navigation to the farther End of the Lake of the Illinois in our Canous.

WE left that Place the 2d of *October*, and continu'd our Voyage all along the Coast of the Lake, which is so steep that we could hardly find any Place to land; and the Violence of the Wind oblig'd us to drag our Canou's sometimes to the top of the Rocks, to prevent their being dash'd in pieces by the Waves. The stormy Weather [77] lasted four Days, during which we suffer'd very much; for every time we went ashoar we were forc'd to step into the Water, and carry our Canou's upon our Shoulders, and to do the like when we embark'd again. The Water being very cold, most of us were sick, and our Provisions fail'd us again; which, together with the Fatigues of Rowing, caus'd old Father *Gabriel* to faint away in such a manner, that I verily thought he could not live; however, I brought him again to his Senses by means of some Confection of *Hyacinth*,¹ which I found very useful in our Voyage. We had no other Subsistence but a handful of *Indian* Corn once every four and twenty Hours, which we roasted, or else boyled in Water;

¹ The jacinth or hyacinth, a precious stone (the silicate of zircon), was formerly believed to possess medicinal virtues, and may often be found in old formulas.—ED.

and yet we row'd almost every Day from Morning 'till Night. Our Men found some Hawthorn-Berries and other wild Fruit, which they ate so greedily, that most of them fell sick, and were thought to be poison'd; yet the more we suffer'd, the more by the Grace of God I was strong and vigorous; so that I could often outrow all our other Canou's.

Being in that distress, He that takes care of the meanest Creatures, afforded us an unexpected Relief; We saw upon the Coast a great many Ravens and Eagles; from whence we conjectur'd that there was some Prey; and having landed on that Place, we found above the half of a fat wild Goat, which the Wolves had strangled. This Provision was very acceptable to us, and the rudest of our Men could not but praise the Divine Providence, who took so particular a care of us.

Having thus refresh'd our selves, we continu'd our Voyage directly to the Southern Parts of the Lake, finding every day the Country finer, and the Weather more temperate. On the 16th of *October* we met with abundance of Game: Our Savage kill'd several Staggs and wild Goats, and our Men [78] a great many Turkey-Cocks very fat and big, where-with we provided our selves for several Days, and so embark'd again. On the 18th we came to the farther end of the Lake, where we landed: Our Men were immediately sent to view the Country round about that Place, and found a great quantity of ripe Grapes, each Grain of which was as big as a Damascen¹: We fell'd several Trees to gather them, and made pretty good Wine, which we kept in Gourds, and

¹ In modern form "damson," a small black plum.—ED.

bury'd in Sand to prevent its growing four. All the Trees in that Country are loaded with Vines, which, if cultivated, would make as good Wine as any in *Europe*. That Fruit was more relishing to us than Flesh, because we wanted Bread.

Our Men discover'd some fresh Prints of Mens Feet, which oblig'd us to stand upon our Guard, without making any Noise till we had rested some time. That Order was not long observ'd; for one of our Men having espy'd a Bear upon a Tree, shot him down dead, and dragg'd him to our Cabins. M. *la Salle* was very angry with him, and to avoid any Surprise, put a Sentinal near our Canou's, under which we had put our Goods to shelter 'em from the Rain.

There were sixscore Savages of the Nation of the *Outouagamis*¹ inhabiting the Bay of *Puans*, encamp'd not far from us; who having heard the Noise our Man had made, took the Alarm, and sent some of their Men to discover who we were. These creeping upon their Bellies, and keeping great Silence, came in the Night to our Canou's, and stole away the Coat of M. *la Salle*'s Footman, and part of the Goods that were under it: But the Sentinel having heard some Noise, call'd us, and every body run to his Arms. The Savages being discover'd, and thinking we were more numerous, cry'd, That they were Friends; but we answer'd them, That Friends did not come in so unseasonable Hours; and that [79] they look'd rather like Robbers, who design'd to

¹ The Algonquian tribe called Outagamis (Fr. Rénards, Eng. Foxes), resident in Eastern and Central Wisconsin. For full accounts of this people, and of their wars with other tribes and with the French, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. xvi (Madison, 1902).—ED.

murther us: Their Captain reply'd, That having heard the Noife of a Gun, and knowing that none of their Neighbours ufe Fire-Arms, they thought we were a Party of *Iroquefe*, and were come with a Defign to murther them; but that underftanding we were fome *Europeans* of *Canada*, whom they lov'd as their Brethren, they could hardly wait till Day to vifit us, and fmoak in our *Calumet*, or large Pipe. This is the ufual Compliment of the Savages, and the greateft Mark they can give of their Affection.

We feem'd to be fatisfy'd with their Reafons, and gave leave to four of them only to come to us, telling them that we would not fuffer a great number becaufe their Youth was addicted to fteal, and that our Men could not fuffer it. Four old Men came to us, whom we entertain'd till Day, and then they retir'd. After they were gone, we found we had been robb'd; and knowing the Genius of the Savages, and that if we did fuffer this Affront, we fhould be expos'd every Night to their Infults; it was refolv'd to exact Satisfaction from them: Accordingly M. *la Salle* went abroad with fome of our Men, to endeavour to take fome of them Prifoners; and having discover'd one of their Hunters, he feiz'd him, and examin'd him concerning the Robbery they had committed: He confefs'd the Faét, with all the Circumftances; whereupon he left him to the cuftody of two Men; and advancing farther into the Country, took another, whom he brought along with him, and having fhew'd him his Companion, fent him back to tell their Captain, That he would kill him, unlefs they return'd what they had robb'd.

CHAP. XXVI.

An Account of the Peace made between us and the Outtouagami's.

THE Savages were mightily puzzl'd at the Message sent by M. *la Salle*; for having cut in pieces the Coat, and other Goods they had stoll'n, and divided the Buttons, they could not make a full Restitution; and therefore they resolv'd to deliver their Man by force; and accordingly the next Morning, *October 30*, they advanc'd to attack us. The *Peninsula* where we were encamp'd, was separated from the Forest, where the Savages lay, by a little sandy Plain; and there being near the Wood two or three Eminences, M. *la Salle* resolv'd to possess himself of the higher, and detach'd five Men for that Service, following himself at a little distance with the rest, every one having roll'd his Covering about the left Arm, to defend themselves against the Arrows of the Savages; for there was not above eight of them who had Fire-Arms.

The Savages seeing our Men advancing up to them, were frighted; and the youngest retir'd behind a great Tree, but their Captains stood their ground, while we possessed our selves of the Eminence I have already mention'd. I left the two *Franciscans* reading the usual Prayers, and went with our Men to exhort them to their duty; for having seen some Battels and Sieges in *Europe*, I was very little afraid of the

Savages. I saw two of our Men turning pale; but when I had spoken to them, they seem'd hearty enough; and M. *la Salle* was mightily pleas'd with my Exhortations. However I consider'd the consequence this Quarrel might have, and how advantageous and Christian-like it would be to prevent [81] the effusion of Blood, and end it in a friendly manner; therefore I advanc'd towards the oldest Savage, who seeing me without any Arms, thought I came with a design to be Mediator, and receiv'd me with Civility; but in the mean time one of our Men having observ'd, that one of the Savages had a piece of the Cloth they had stoll'n about his Head, came up to him, and snatch'd it away. That vigorous Action so much terrify'd the Savages, that though they were near sixscore Men against eleven, they presented me the Pipe or *Calumet* of Peace, which I receiv'd. M. *la Salle* having pass'd his Word that they might come safe to him, two old Men told him in a Speech, That they did not approve what their young Men had done: That they would have restor'd the Goods taken, if it had been possible; but that having been cut in pieces, they could do no more but offer to restore what was not spoil'd, and pay for the rest. They presented us at the same time with some Gowns made of Beavers-Skins to appease M. *la Salle*, who having frown'd a little, told them, That as he design'd to wrong or affront no body, he would neither suffer any wrong or affront to be put upon him; but that seeing they did not approve what their Youth had done, and were willing to make satisfaction for the same, he accepted their Offers, and would be their Friend.

The Conditions were fully perform'd, and the Peace happily concluded without farther Hostility.

The next Day was spent in Dancing, Feasting, and Speeches; and the Chief Captain having taken a particular notice of the Behaviour of the *Franciscans*, said, *These Grey Coats we value very much; they go barefoot as well as we: They scorn our Beaver-Gowns, and refuse all other Presents: They carry no Arms to kill us: They flatter and make much of our Children, and give them Knives and other Toys, without expecting any Reward. Those amongst us who have been in Canada, tell us, That [82] Onnontio (so they call the Governour) loves them very much; and that they have quitted all to come to see us. Therefore be pleas'd, Thou who art Captain of these Men, to leave amongst us one of these Grey Coats, whom we shall bring to our Village, when we have kill'd wild Bulls,¹ and make much of him. Thou art likewise Master of these Warriours, and therefore remain amongst us, instead of going among the Illinois, who have resolv'd to murther thee and all thy Soldiers: And how canst thou resist so great a Nation?*

The Captain of the Savages told us, that the *Illinois* had burnt alive an *Iroquese*, who confes'd that the War the *Iroquese* made against them, had been fomented by the Inhabitants of *Canada*, who hated them. He told us also many other things, which frightened our Men, and made *M. la Salle* very melancholly; for all the Savages we had already met, had told us almost the same thing. However, knowing how great

¹ A reference to the buffalo, which was usually called, by early writers and explorers, "wild cow," or "wild ox."—ED.

was the Malice of our Enemies, and therefore suspecting that these things might have been suggested to the Savages, in order to oblige us to give over our Enterprize; or else that it was a Contrivance of the Neighbours of the *Illinois*, who were afraid that they should grow too powerful, if we taught them the use of Fire-Arms, we resolv'd to go on with our Voyage, taking in the mean time all necessary Precautions for our Security. We told the *Outtouagami's*, That we were much oblig'd to them for their kind Offers and Advice; but that we were not afraid of the *Illinois*; for the *Spirits* know how to gain the Friendship of any Nation, by Reason or by Force. 'Tis to be observ'd, that the Savages being not able to conceive how the *Europeans* can have more Wit than they, and admiring some Toys and other Things we bring from *Europe*, own that they are but Men, but that we are *Spirits*, and therefore call us so.¹

[83] The next Day, *November 1*, we embark'd on the Lake of the *Illinois*, and came to the Mouth of the River of the *Miami's*,² which runs from the South, and falls into the Lake. We had appointed that Place for our Rendezvous, and expected to meet there the twenty Men we had left at *Missilimakinak*; who being order'd to come along the other Coast of the Lake, had a much shorter cut than we, and besides their Canou's were not so much loaded as ours. However, we found no body there, nor any Mark whereby it could appear that they had been in that Place. We resolv'd to tell

¹ Cf. La Potherie's *Amérique Septentrionale*, ii, pp. 87-89.—Ed.

² An early appellation of the St. Joseph River, on which were settled part of the Miami tribe; an easy portage therefrom to the Kankakee caused this route to be generally used by travelers from Michillimackinac to the Illinois settlements.—Ed.

M. *la Salle*, that it was not fit to tarry any longer for them, nor expose our selves to the Hardship of the Winter; and that it would be then very difficult to meet with the *Illinois*, because they divided themselves into Tribes or Families, to subsist more conveniently; that if we were forc'd to remain there during the Winter, and that the Game should come to fail us, all his Men would certainly perish with Hunger; whereas we might expect to find some *Indian* Corn amongst the *Illinois*, who would rather supply with Provisions fourteen Men than two and thirty. We told him likewise, that it would be in a manner impossible to continue our Voyage till the Winter was over, if he tarry'd any longer, because the Rivers would be frozen all over, and therefore we could not make use of our Canou's. Notwithstanding these Reasons, M. *la Salle* told us, that it was necessary to expect the rest of his Men, because we should be then in a Condition to discover our selves to the *Illinois*, and make an Alliance with them; whereas we should be expos'd to their Mercy and Scorn, if we offer'd to enter their Country with so few Men; but that in the mean time he would endeavour to meet with some of that Nation, and gain them by Presents to learn their Language; concluding, that although all his Men should run away, he would remain alone [84] with our Savage, and find means to maintain the Three Missionaries, meaning I and my two Brethren.

Having therefore call'd his Men together, he told them, That he was resolv'd to expect the rest of their Companions; and propos'd to build a Fort in that Place for securing our

Ship; for we did not know then that it had perish'd; as also to secure our Goods and our selves too, in case of any Disgrace. Our Men seem'd very much dissatisfied; but he us'd so many Reasons, that they told him at last, they would entirely follow his Direction.

CHAP. XXVII.

An Account of the Building of a Fort and a House near the River of Miamis.

JUST at the Mouth of the River, there was an Eminence, with a kind of a Platform naturally fortify'd: It was pretty high and steep, of a Triangular Form, defended on two sides by the River, and on the other by a deep Ditch, which the Fall of Waters had made. We fell'd the Trees that were on the top of that Hill, and having clear'd the same from Bushes for about two Musket-shot, we began to build a Redoubt of forty Foot long, and eighty broad, with great square pieces of Timber laid one upon the other; and prepar'd a great Number of Stakes of about twenty five Foot long, to drive into the Ground, to make our Fort the more unaccessible on the River side. We imploy'd the whole Month of *November* about that Work, which was very hard, though we had no other Food but the Bears-flesh our Savage kill'd. Those Beasts are very common in that place, because of the great quantity of Grapes they find there; but their Flesh [85] being too fat and luscious, our Men began to be weary of it, and desir'd leave to go a hunting, to kill some wild Goats. *M. la Salle* deny'd them that Liberty, which caus'd some Murmurs amongst them; and it was but un-

willingly that they continu'd their Work. This together with the approach of the Winter, and the apprehension *M. la Salle* had that his Ship was lost, made him very melancholy, though he conceal'd it as much as he could. We had made a Cabin, wherein we perform'd Divine Service every *Sunday*, and Father *Gabriel* and I, who preach'd alternately, took care to take such Texts as were suitable to our present Circumstances, and fit to inspire us with Courage, Concord, and brotherly Love. Our Exhortations produc'd a very good Effect, and hindred our Men from deserting, as they design'd.

We founded in the mean time, the Mouth of the River, and having found a Sand on which our Ship might strike, we fix'd two great posts therein, to which we fastned Bear-Skins as so many Buoys to direct the Course of our Ship through the Channel she ought to pass; and for a greater Precaution, two Men were sent back to *Missilimakinak*, to wait there till the return of our Ship, and serve as Pilots.

The 20th of *November* *M. Tonti* arriv'd with two Canou's laden with Stags and Deers, which was a welcom Refreshment to our Men, but he did not bring above half of our Men with him, the rest being left on the other side of the Lake, within three Days Journey from our Fort. *M. la Salle* was very angry with him upon that Account, being afraid that they would run away.

They told us that our Ship had not put into the Bay of *Missilimakinak*, as they were order'd, and that they had heard nothing of her since we sail'd, notwithstanding they had enquir'd as much as they could, from the Savages inhabiting

the Coast of the Lake. This confirm'd the Suspicion, or rather the [86] Belief we had that she was cast away: However, M. *la Salle* continu'd the Building of his Fort, which was at last perfected, and call'd *Fort Miamis*.

The Winter drawing so nigh, and M. *la Salle* being afraid that the Ice would stop his Voyage, sent back M. *Tonti* to fetch the Men he had left, and command them to come to him immediately; but meeting with a violent Storm, their Canou was driven against the Coast, and broke in pieces, whereby they lost their Guns and Equipage, and were oblig'd to return over-land. Few Days after, all our Men arriv'd except two, who deserted; so that we prepar'd our selves to continue our Voyage, the Rains that fell about that time having melted the Ice, and made the Rivers navigable.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A Continuation of our Voyage from Fort Miamis to the River of the Illinois.

WE embark'd on the *Third* of *December*, being Three and thirty Men in Eight Canou's, and having left the Lake of the *Illinois*, went up the River *Miamis*, which we had founded before. We made about five and twenty Leagues to the South-Weſt, but cou'd not diſcover the Place where we were to land, and carry our Canou's and Equipage into the River of the *Illinois*, which falls into that of *Meſchaſipi*; that is, in the Language of the *Illinois*, the *Great River*. We had already paſſed the place of the *Portage*, but not knowing whereabouts we were, we thought fit to ſtay there, to expect M. *la Salle*, who was landed to view the Country: We ſtaid a great while, and ſeeing he did not come, I went very far into the Woods with two of our Men, who fir'd their Guns to give him notice of the Place [87] where we were; and in the mean time two others went up the River in their Canou, in order to find him out; but all our Endeavours were in vain, ſo that we return'd towards Evening.

The next Day I went up the River my ſelf, but hearing nothing of him, I came back, and found our Men very much perplex'd, fearing he was loſt; but about four a-clock in the

Afternoon he return'd to us, having his Face and Hands as black as Pitch. He brought along with him two Beasts as big as Musk'd Rats, whose Skins was very fine, and like Ermins. He had kill'd them with a Stick, as they hung by their Tails to the Boughs of Trees.¹

He told us, that the Marshes he had met in his way, had oblig'd him to fetch a great Compass; and that being much annoy'd by the Snow which fell very thick, it was past Midnight before he could arrive upon the Banks of the River; where he fir'd his Gun twice, and that hearing no answer, he concluded we were gone up higher, and had therefore march'd that way. He added, that after three Hours March, he saw a Fire upon a little Hill, whither he went directly, and hail'd us several Times, but hearing no Answer, he approach'd and found no Body near the Fire, but only some dry Herbs, upon which a Man was a little while afore laid, as he conjectur'd, because they were still warm. He suppos'd that it was a Savage, who lay thereabouts in an Ambuscade, and therefore call'd to him in two or three Languages; but no Body answering, he cry'd as loud as he could, that to shew he was not afraid of him, he was going to lie in his room. However, for fear of any Surprise, he cut several Boughs and Bushes, to embarrass the way, and sat down by the Fire, which had made his Hands and Face black, as I have observ'd. Having thus warm'd and rested himself, he lay down upon the dry Herbs the Savage had gather'd under a Tree,

¹The opossum, or tree-rat (*Didelphys Virginiana*).—ED.

and slept very [88] well, notwithstanding the Frost and Snow. Father *Gabriel* and I desir'd him to remain with his Men, and not expose himself for the future, because the Success of our Enterprize depended only upon him; and he promis'd us to follow our Advice.

Our Savage, who remain'd behind for hunting, finding none of us at the Place of the *Portage*, came up higher on the River, and told us, we had mist it; therefore he was sent back with all our Canou's, except one which I kept; for M. *la Salle* was so weary, that he was oblig'd to lie there that Night. I made a little Cabin with Mats of Marsh Rushes, wherein we lay together, but were in great danger of being burnt, for it took fire by an unhappy Accident, while we were fast asleep. The next Morning we joyn'd our Men at the Place of *Portage*, where Father *Gabriel* had made the Day before several Crosses upon the Trees, that we might not miss it another time. We found there a great quantity of Horns and Bones of wild Bulls, as also some Canou's the Savages had made with the Skins of Beasts, to cross the River with their Provisions. This *Portage* lies at the farther End of a large Champion piece of Ground; and at the other End, to the West, lies a Village of the Savages *Miami's*, *Mascouteins*, and *Oiatinon*,¹ who live together. The River of the *Illinois* has its Source near that Village, and springs out of some

¹ All these were Algonquian tribes; the *Miamis* were closely related to the *Illinois*. The *Mascoutens* had dwelt in *Wisconsin*, whence part of the tribe migrated southward—finding their way, in the early part of the eighteenth century, as far as the *Ohio River*. The *Ouiatanons* (called *Weas* by the English) were settled mainly along the *Wabash River*.—ED.

marshy Lands, which are as so many Quagmires, that one can scarcely walk over them. The Head of the River is only a League and half from that of *Miamis*, and so our *Portage* was not long. We mark'd the way from Place to Place with some Trees for the convenience of those we expected after us; and left at the *Portage*, as well as Fort *Miamis*, Letters hanging down from the Trees, containing M. *la Salle's* Instructions to our Pilot, and the other five and twenty Men, who were to come with him.

[89] CHAP. XXIX.

An Account of our Embarkment at the Head of the River of the Illinois.

THIS River is navigable within a hundred Paces from its Source; I mean for Canou's of Bark of Trees, and not for others; but it increas'es so much a little way from thence, that it is as deep and broad as the *Meuse* and the *Sambre* joyn'd together. It runs through vast Marshes, and though it be rappid enough, it makes so many Turnings and Windings, that after a whole Day's Journey, we found we were hardly two Leagues from the Place we left in the Morning. That Country is nothing but Marshes full of Alder-Trees and Rushes; and we could have hardly found for forty Leagues together, any Place to plant our Cabins, had it not been for the Frost, which made the Earth more firm and solid.

Having past through great Marshes, we found a vast Plain, on which nothing grows but only some Herbs, which were dry at that time, and burnt, because the *Miami's* set them on fire every Year, in their hunting wild Bulls, as I shall mention anon. We found no manner of Game, which was a great Disappointment to us, our Provisions beginning to fail. Our Men travell'd about sixty Miles without killing any thing else but a lean Stag, a small wild Goat, some few Swans, and two

Bustards, which was no sufficient Maintenance for two and thirty Men. Most of them were so weary of this laborious Life, that they would have run away, if possible, and gone to the Savages, who were not very far from us, as we judg'd by the great Fires we saw in the Plain. There must be an innumerable [90] quantity of wild Bulls in that Country, since the Earth is cover'd with their Horns. The *Miami's* hunt them towards the latter end of *Autumn*.

We continu'd our Course upon this River very near the whole Month of *December*; but toward the latter end of the said Month, 1679, we arriv'd at the Village of the *Illinois*, which lies near one hundred and thirty Leagues from Fort *Miamis*, on the Lake of the *Illinois*.¹ We suffer'd very much in this Passage; for the Savages having set the Herbs of the Plain on fire, the wild Bulls were fled away, and so we could kill but one, and some Turkey-Cocks. God's Providence supported us all the while; and when we thought that the Extremities we were reduc'd to, were past all hopes of Remedy, we found a prodigious big wild Bull, lying fast in the Mud of the River. We kill'd him and had much ado to get him out of the Mud. This was a great Refreshment to our Men, and reviv'd their Courage; for being so timely and unexpectedly reliev'd, they concluded that God approv'd our Design.

¹This village was located near the site of the present Utica, Ill.; it was here that Marquette (1675) and Allouez (1677) founded the Illinois mission, among the Kaskaskia tribe. For description, population, etc., see Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 156, note 2.—ED.



CHAP. XXX.

A Description of the Hunting of the wild Bulls and Cows, by the Savages; Of the bignefs of those Beasts; and of the Advantages and Improvements that may be made of the Plain where they Pasture; and of the Woods thereabouts.

WHEN the Savages discover a great Number of those Beasts together, they likewise assemble their whole Tribe to encompass the Bulls, and then set on fire the dry Herbs about them, except in some places, which they leave free; and therein lay themselves in Ambuscade. The Bulls seeing the Flame round about them, run away through those [91] Passages where they see no Fire; and there fall into the Hands of the Savages, who by these Means will kill sometimes above sixscore in a day. They divide these Beasts according to the number of each Family; and send their Wives to slay them, and bring the Flesh to their Cabins. These Women are so lusty and strong, that they carry on their Back two or three hundred weight, besides their Children; and notwithstanding that Burthen, they run as swiftly as any of our Soldiers with their Arms.

Those Bulls have a very fine Coat, more like Wooll than Hair, and their Cows have it longer than the Males; their Horns are almost black, and much thicker, though somewhat

shorter than those of *Europe*: Their Head is of a prodigious Bigness, as well as their Neck very thick, but at the same time exceeding short: They have a kind of Bump between the two Shoulders: Their Legs are big and short, cover'd with long Wooll; and they have between the two Horns an ugly Bush of Hair, which falls upon their Eyes, and makes them look horrid.

The Flesh of these Beasts is very relishing, and full of Juice, especially in *Autumn*; for having grazed all the Summer long in those vast Meadows, where the Herbs are as high as they, they are then very fat. There is also amongst them abundance of Stags, Deers, and wild Goats; and that nothing might be wanting in that Country, for the Convenience of those Creatures, there are Forests at certain distances, where they retire to rest, and shelter themselves against the violence of the Sun.

They change their Country according to the Seasons of the Year; for upon the approach of the Winter, they leave the North to go to the Southern Parts. They follow one another, so that you may see a Drove of them for above a League together, and stop all at the same place; and the Ground where they use to lie is cover'd with wild Purslain; which makes [92] me believe, that the Cows Dung is very fit to produce that Herb. Their Ways are as beaten as our great Roads, and no Herb grows therein. They swim over the Rivers they meet in their Way, to go and graze in other Meadows. But the Care of the Cows for their Young Ones, cannot be too much admir'd; for there being in those Meadows a great quantity of Wolves, who might surprize them,

they go to calve in the Islands of the Rivers, from whence they don't stir till the young Calves are able to follow them; for then they can protect them against any Beast whatsoever.

These Bulls being very convenient for the Subsistence of the Savages, they take care not to scare them from their Country; and they pursue only those whom they have wounded with their Arrows: But these Creatures multiply in such a manner, that notwithstanding the great Numbers they kill every Year, they are as numerous as ever.

The Women spin the Wooll of these Bulls, and make Sacks thereof to carry their Flesh in, which they dry in the Sun, or broil upon Gridirons. They have no Salt, and yet they prepare their Flesh so well, that it keeps above four Months without breeding any Corruption; and it looks then so fresh, that one wou'd think it was newly kill'd. They commonly boil it, and drink the Broth of it instead of Water. This is the ordinary Drink of all the Savages of *America*, who have no Commerce with the *Europeans*. We follow'd their Example in this particular; and it must be confess'd, that that Broath is very wholesome.

The Skin of one of those Bulls usually weighs about six-score Pound; but the Savages make use only of the thinnest part, as that of the Belly, which they dress with the Brains of all sorts of Beasts, and thereby make it as soft as our *Shamoi's* Skins. They paint them with several Colours, and adorn with pieces [93] of Porcupine-Skins, red and white,¹ the

¹ Hennepin apparently refers to the embroidery done by Indian women, among nearly all Northern tribes, with quills from the porcupine; these are dyed in various colors.—ED.

Gowns they make thereof, to appear splendidly at Feasts, and on other solemn Occasions. They make other Gowns against cold Weather, wherewith they cover themselves during the Winter; but these plain Gowns, cover'd with curl'd Wooll, are, in my Opinion, the finest as well as the best.

When they kill any Cows, their young Calves follow them, and lick their Hands. They bring them to their Children, who eat them, after having for some time play'd with them. They keep the Hoofs of those little Creatures, and when they are very dry, they tie them to some Wand, and move them according to the various Postures of those who sing and dance. This is the most ridiculous Musical Instrument that I ever met with.

These young Calves might be easily tam'd, and made use of to plow the Land, which would be very advantageous to the Savages. These Bulls find in all Seasons Forrage to subsist by; for if they are surpriz'd in the Northern Countries by the Snow, before they can reach the Southern Parts, they have the dexterity to remove the Snow, and eat the Grass under it. They bellow like our *European* Bulls, but not so frequently.

Though these Bulls are taller and bigger than those of *Europe*, they are however so swift, that no Savage can overtake them: They are so timorous, that they run away from any Man, except when they are wounded; for then they are dangerous, and often kill the Savage who pursues them. 'Tis a diverting Prospect to see near the Banks of the Rivers,

several Drovers of those Bulls of about four or five hundred together, grazing in those green Meadows.

There are several other Beasts in that Country, as I observ'd in my Account of *Louisiana*, as Stags, wild Goats, Beavers, and Otters; there are also Bustards, which have an excellent Taste; Swans, Tortoises, [94] Turkey-Cocks, Parrots, and Partridges. There are also an incredible quantity of Pelicans, whose Bills are of a prodigious Size; and a great many other sorts of Birds, and other Beasts.

The Rivers are plentifully stock'd with Fish, and the Soil is very fertile. The Forests afford all manner of Timber fit for Building, and especially Oak; which is there much better than in *Canada*, and would be excellent for building Ships. That Timber might be squar'd, saw'd, and ready prepar'd upon the Spot, and brought over into *Europe*; which would be very convenient, and give time to the Trees of our Forests to grow, whereas they are in a manner exhausted.

There are in those Forests abundance of Trees bearing good Fruit, and of wild Vines, which produce Bunches of Grapes a foot and a half long, and of which when ripe may be made very good Wine. One may see there also large Countries cover'd with good Hemp, growing naturally six or seven foot in height. In short, by the Experiments I made among the *Iffati*, and the *Illinois*, I am perswaded that the Soil of that Country would produce all manner of Corn, Fruits, &c. even more plentifully than in any part of *Europe*, seeing there are two Crops every Year.

The Air is very temperate, clear, and open, and the Country, water'd with several Lakes, Brooks, and Rivers, which are for the most part navigable. The Gnats and other little Flies that are so troublesome in *Canada*, and some other dangerous Beasts, are unknown in this Country; which in two Years time might supply its Inhabitants, if cultivated, with all things necessary for Life, without wanting any thing from *Europe*; and the Islands of *America*, with Wine, Bread, and Flesh. The *Bucaniers* might kill in that Country a greater number of Bulls than in all the Islands they resort to. There are Mines of [95] Coal, Slate, and Iron; and several Pieces of fine red Copper, which I have found now and then upon the Surface of the Earth, makes me believe that there are Mines of it; and doubtless of other Metals and Minerals, which may be discover'd one time or another. They have already found Allom [alum] in the Country of the *Iroquese*.

CHAP. XXXI.

An Account of our Arrival to the Country of the Illinois, one of the most numerous Nations of the Savages of America.

THIS Word *Illinois* comes, as it has been already observ'd, from *Illini*, which in the Language of that Nation signifies *A perfect and accomplish'd Man*. The Villages of the *Illinois* are situated in a Marfhy Plain, about the Fortieth Degree of Latitude, on the Right side of the River, which is as broad as the *Meuse*. Their greatest Village may have in it Four or five hundred Cabins, every Cabin five or six Fires, and each Fire one or two Families, who live together in great Concord. Their Cabins are cover'd with Mats of flat Rushes, so closely sew'd together, that no Wind, Rain, or Snow can go thro' it. The Union that reigns amongst that Barbarous People, ought to cover with Shame the Christians; amongst whom we can see no Trace of that brotherly Love, which united the Primitive Professors of Christianity.

When the Savages have gather'd in their *Indian* Corn, they dig some Holes in the Ground, where they keep it for Summer-time, because Meat does not keep in hot Weather; whereas they have very little occasion for it in Winter; and 'tis then their Custom to leave their Villages, and with their whole Families to go a hunting wild Bulls, Beavers, &c.

carrying [96] with them but a small quantity of their Corn, which however they value so much, that the most sensible Wrong one can do them, in their Opinion, is to take some of their Corn in their absence. We found no Body in the Village, as we had foreseen; for the *Illinois* had divided themselves, according to their Custom, and were gone a hunting. Their Absence caus'd a great Perplexity amongst us; for we wanted Provisions, and yet durst not meddle with the *Indian* Corn the Savages had laid under Ground, for their Subsistence, and to sow their Lands with. However, our Necessity being very great, and it being impossible to continue our Voyage without any Provisions, especially seeing the Bulls and other Beasts had been driven from the Banks of the River, by means of Fire, as I have related in my former Chapter, M. *la Salle* resolv'd to take about forty Bushels of Corn, in hopes to appease the Savages with some Presents.

We embark'd again with these fresh Provisions, and continu'd to fall down the River, which runs directly to the South. Four Days after, being the First of *January*, 1680, we said Mass; and having wish'd a happy New-year to M. *la Salle*, and to all others, I thought fit to make a patheticall Exhortation to our Grumblers, to encourage them to go on chearfully, and inspire them with Union and Concord. Father *Gabriel*, *Zenobe*, and I, embrac'd them afterwards; and they promis'd us to continue firm in their Duty. The same Day we went thro' a Lake form'd by the River, about seven Leagues long, and one broad.¹ The Savages call that Place

¹ The expansion of the Illinois River which is now known as Peoria Lake.—ED.

*Pimiteoui*¹; that is, in their Tongue, *A Place where there is abundance of fat Beasts*. When the River of the *Illinois* freezes, which is but seldom, it freezes only to this Lake, and never from thence to the *Meschafipi*, into which this River falls. M. *la Salle* observ'd here the Elevation of the Pole, and found that this Lake lies [97] in the Latitude of thirty three Degrees and forty five Minutes.

We had been inform'd that the *Illinois* were our Enemies; and therefore M. *la Salle* had resolv'd to use all manner of Precaution when we should meet with them; but we found our selves on a sudden in the middle of their Camp, which took up both sides of the River. M. *la Salle* order'd immediately his Men to make their Arms ready, and brought his Canou's into a Line, placing himself to the Right, and M. *Tonti* to the Left; so that we took almost the whole breadth of the River. The *Illinois*, who had not yet discover'd our Fleet, were very much surpriz'd to see us coming so swiftly upon them; for the Stream was extraordinary rapid in that Place: Some run to their Arms; but most took their Flight, with horrid Cries and Howlings.

The Current brought us in the mean time to their Camp; and M. *la Salle* went the very first a-shoar, follow'd by his Men; which increas'd the Conternation of the Savages, whom we might have easily defeated; but as it was not our Design, we made a Halt to give them time to recover themselves, and

¹ Shea says (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 155, note *) that from this point to the end of the chapter "the *Nouvelle Découverte* here abandons the original narrative and (pp. 200-207) copies almost literally from Le Clercq, *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 153-159."—Ed.

fee that we were no Enemies. M. *la Salle* might have prevented their Confusion, by shewing his *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace; but he was afraid the Savages wou'd impute it to our Weakness.

The *Illinois* being exceedingly terrify'd, tho' they were several thousand Men, tender'd us the *Calumet* of Peace; and then we offer'd them ours; which being accepted on both sides, an extraordinary Joy succeeded the terrible Fears they had been under upon our landing. They sent immediately to fetch back those who fled away; and Father *Zenobe* and I went to their Cabins. We took their Children by the Hand, and express'd our Love for them with all the Signs we cou'd: We did the like to the Old Men, having Compassion of those poor Creatures, who [98] are so miserable as to be ignorant of their Creator and Redeemer.

Most of the Savages, who had run away upon our landing, understanding that we were Friends, return'd; but some others had been so terrifi'd, that they did not come back till three or four Days after, that they were told that we had smok'd in their *Calumet* of Peace. In the mean time we had discours'd the Chief of the *Illinois* by our Interpreter, and told them, that we were Inhabitants of *Canada*, and their Friends; that we were come to teach them the Knowledge of the Captain of Heaven and Earth, and the Use of Fire-arms, which were unknown to them; with several other things relating to their advantage. We were forc'd to make use of these metaphorical Expressions, to give them some *Idea* of the Supreme DEITY. They heard our Discourses with great

attention, and afterwards gave a great Shout for Joy, repeating these Words: *Tepatoui-Nika* ; That is, *Well, my Brother, my Friend ; thou hast done very well.* These Savages have more Humanity than all the others of the Northern *America* ; and understanding the Subject of our Errand, express'd great Gratitude thereupon. They rubb'd our Legs and Feet near the Fire, with Oil of Bears and Wild Bulls Fat, which, after much Travel, is an incomparable Refreshment ; and presented us some Flesh to eat, putting the three first Morfels into our Mouth with great Ceremonies. This is a great piece of Civility amongst them.

M. *la Salle* presented them with some Tobacco from *Martinico*, and some Axes ; and told them, that he had desir'd them to meet to treat about some weighty Matters ; but that there was one in particular, which he would discourse them upon before any other. He added, that he knew how necessary their Corn was to them ; but that being reduc'd to an unspeakable Necessity when he came to their Village, [99] and seeing no probability to subsist, he had been forc'd to take some Corn from their Habitations without their leave : That he would give 'em Axes, and other things, in lieu of it, if they could spare it ; that if they could not, they were free to take it again ; concluding, That if they were not able to supply us with Provisions, he design'd to continue his Voyage, and go to their Neighbours, who would heartily give him what was necessary for his Subsistence ; but however, to shew them his Kindness, he would leave a Smith among them, to mend their Axes and other Tools we should supply them with. The

Savages having confider'd our Proposals, granted all our Demands, and made Alliance with us.

We were oblig'd to use many Precautions to make our Alliance lasting and solid, because our Enemies did their utmost to prevent it. The very same Day we came to the Camp of the *Illinois*, one of the Chief Captains of the *Mascoutens*, whose Name was *Monso*,¹ arriv'd also with some *Miami's*, and other young Men, who brought with them some Axes, Knives, Kettles, and other Goods. Our Enemies had chosen him for that Embassie, knowing that the *Illinois* would rather believe him than the *Miamis*, because they had never been in War with the *Mascoutens*. This Savage arriv'd pretty late, and caball'd all the Night long against us: He told them, That M. *la Salle* was a great Friend of the *Iroquese*, who were to follow him speedily, with some of the *Europeans* from *Canada*, to invade them, and destroy their Nation; and that he was sent by some of the *Europeans* themselves, who could not approve that Treachery of their Countrymen, to give them notice thereof, that they might not be surpriz'd. He enforc'd his Arguments, by presenting them with all the Goods he had brought along with him; and thinking he had gain'd his Point, went back the same Night, fearing, with much Reason, that M. *la Salle* would resent [100] that Master-piece of Villany, and punish him for it. The *Illinois* were assembled in Council all the Night, (for they never treat of any secret Affairs during the Day) and did not know what Measures to take; for tho' they did

¹ Probably Monso is a misprint for Mouso. — PARKMAN (*La Salle*, p. 161, note 1).

not believe all the Stories the *Mascouten* had made unto them, yet the next Day they appear'd very indifferent, and mistrustful of us. As they seem'd to contrive something against us, we began to be uneasy; but M. *la Salle*, who suspected that their sudden Alteration towards us was the Effect of a false Report, made such Presents to one of their Chiefs, that he told him all the Particulars of the Embassie and Negotiation of *Monso*; and thereby enabled him to remove the Jealousie of the *Illinois*, and confound the wicked Designs of our Enemies.

He manag'd that Point with such Dexterity, that he did not only regain the Friendship of that Nation, but likewise undeceiv'd the *Mascouten* and *Miami's*; and was Mediator between the latter and the *Illinois*, who by his means made an Alliance, which lasted all the while we remain'd in those Countries.

CHAP. XXXII.

An Account of what hapned to us while we remain'd among the Illinois, till the Building of a New Fort.

SOME Days after, *Nikanape*, Brother to *Cheffagouasse*, the most considerable Chief of the *Illinois*, who was then absent, invited us to a great Feast; and before we sat down to eat, made a long Speech, very different from what the other Captains had told us upon our arrival. He said that he had invited us not so much to give us a Treat, as to endeavour to dissuade us from the Resolution we had taken, to go down to the Sea by the great River *Meschasipi*. He added, That several had perish'd, having ventur'd [101] upon the same Enterprize, the Banks of that River being inhabited by barbarous and bloody Nations, whom we should be unable to resist, notwithstanding our Valour and the Goodness of our Arms; that that River was full of dangerous Monsters, as Crocodiles, Tritons, (meaning a Sea-monster) and Serpents; that supposing the Barque we design'd to build was big enough to protect us against the Dangers he had mention'd, yet it would avail us nothing against another which was inevitable: *For*, said he, *the River Meschasipi is so full of Rocks and Falls towards its Mouth, that the Rapidity of the Current cannot be master'd, which will carry your Barque into a*

horrid Whirlpool, that swallows up every thing that comes near it; and even the River it self, which appears no more, losing it self in that hideous and bottomless Gulf.

He added so many other Circumstances, and appear'd so serious, and so much concern'd for us, that two of our Men, who understood their Language, but not their Politicks, were moved at it, and their Fear appear'd in their Faces. We observ'd it, but could not help it; for it would be an unpardonable Affront to interrupt a Savage; and besides, we had perhaps increas'd the Alarms of our Men. When *Nikanape* had made an end of his Discourse, we answer'd him in so calm a manner, that he cou'd not fancy we were surpris'd at his Objections against our Voyage.

Our Interpreter told him, by order of M. *la Salle*, that we were much oblig'd to him for the Advices he gave us; but that the Difficulties and Dangers he had mention'd, would make our Enterprize still more glorious; that we fear'd the Master of the Life of all Men, who rul'd the Sea, and all the World; and therefore wou'd think it a Happiness to lay down our Lives to make his Name known to all his Creatures. We added, that we believ'd that most of the Dangers he had mention'd were not in being; but that [102] the Friendship he had for us, had put him upon that Invention, to oblige us to remain with them. We thought fit, however, to let him know, that we perceiv'd our Enemies had fomented some Jealousies in their Mind, and that they seem'd to mistrust our Designs; but as we were sincere in our Dealings, we desir'd them to let us know freely, and without

any Disguise, the Grounds of their Suspicions, that we might satisfy them, and clear our selves; concluding, that seeing our Demand was so just and equitable, we expected they would grant it, or else that we should have reason to think that the Joy they had express'd upon our Arrival, and the Friendship they had since shew'd to us, was nothing but a Deceit and Diffimulation. *Nikanape* was not able to answer us, and therefore chang'd his Discourse, desiring us to eat.

The Dinner being over, our Interpreter reassum'd his Discourse, and told the Company, that we were not surpriz'd at the Envy their Neighbours express'd about our Arrival into their Country, because they knew too well the Advantages of Commerce, and therefore would engross it to themselves, and obstruct by all means our good Correspondence; but that we wonder'd that they wou'd give Ear to the Suggestions of our common Enemies, and conceal any thing from us, since we had so sincerely acquainted them with our Designs.

We did not sleep, Brother, said he, directing his Discourse to *Nicanape*, *when Monso was caballing amongst you in the Night to our Prejudice, endeavouring to make you believe that we were Spies of the Iroquese. The Presents he made to enforce his Lies, are still hidden in this Cabin. But why has he run away immediately after, instead of appearing publickly to justify his Accusation? Thou art a Witness thy self, that upon our landing we might have kill'd all thy Nephews, and done what our Enemies tell you we design to do, after we have made Alliance with thee,*

and settled our selves amongst you. But if it were our Design, [103] why should we defer to put it into execution? And who hinders our Warriours, who are here with me, to kill all of you, whilst your young Men are a hunting? Thou hast been told, that our Valour is terrible to the Iroquese themselves; and therefore we need not their Assistance to wage War with thee, if it were our Design.

But to remove even the least Pretence of Suspicion and Jealousie, send somebody to bring back that malicious Accuser, and we will stay here to confute him in thy Presence: For how can he know us, seeing he never saw us in his Life? And how can he be acquainted with the secret League we have made with the Iroquese, whom he knows only by Name? Consider our Equipage; we have nothing but Tools and Goods, which can never be made use of, but for the Good of thy Nation, and not for its Destruction, as our Enemies would make thee believe.

This Discourse mov'd them very much; and they sent after *Monso* to bring him back; but the Snow which fell that Night spoil'd the Tract [*sc.* Track], and so he could not be over-taken. He had remain'd for some Days not far from us, to know what would be the success of his Embassy. However, some of our Men lay under such terrible Apprehensions, that we could never recover their Courage, nor remove their Fears; so that six of them who had the Guard that Night (amongst which were two Sawers, the most necessary of our Workmen for building our Ship) run away, taking with them what they thought necessary; but considering the

Country through which they were to travel, and the Season of the year, we may say, that for avoiding an uncertain Peril, they expos'd themselves to a most certain Danger.

M. *la Salle* seeing that those six Men were gone, and fearing that this Desertion would make a disadvantageous Impression upon the Savages, he order'd his Men to tell the *Illinois*, that he had resolv'd to send after them to punish them as they deserv'd; but that the Season being so hard, he was loth to expose [104] his Men; and that those Deserters would be severely punish'd in *Canada*. In the mean time we exhorted the rest to continue firm in their Duty, assuring them, That if any were afraid of venturing themselves upon the River *Meschasipi*, because of the Dangers *Nikanape* had mention'd, M. *la Salle* would give them leave to return next Spring to *Canada*, and allow them a Canou to make their Voyage; whereas they could not venture to return home at this time of the Year, without exposing themselves to perish with Hunger, Cold, or the Hands of the Savages.

They promis'd Wonders; but M. *la Salle* knowing their Inconstancy, and dissembling the Vexation their want of Courage and Resolution caus'd him, resolv'd to prevent any farther Subornation, and to leave the Camp of the *Illinois*; but lest his Men should not consent to it, he call'd them together and told them we were not safe among the *Illinois*, and that perhaps the *Iroquese* would come in a little time to attack them; and that these being not able to resist, they were like to run away, and betake themselves to the Woods, and leave us expos'd to the Mercy of the *Iroquese*, whose

Cruelty was sufficiently known to us; therefore he knew no other Remedy but to fortifie a Post, where we might defend our selves both against the *Illinois* and *Iroquese*, as occasion should require. These Reasons, with some other Arguments which I added to the same purpose, proved powerful enough to engage them to approve M. *la Salle's* Design; and so it was resolv'd to build a Fort in a very advantageous Place on the River, four Day's Journey below the great Village of the *Illinois*.

[105] CHAP. XXXIII.

Reflections upon the Temper and Manners of the Illinois, and the little Disposition they have to embrace Christianity.

BEFORE I speak in particular of the *Illinois*, I think fit to observe here, that there is a Nation of the *Miami's*, who inhabit the Banks of a fine River, within fifteen Leagues from the Lake, in the Latitude of 41 Degrees. The *Maskoutens* and *Outtouagami's* live more Northward on the River *Mellioki* [Milwaukee], which runs into the Lake in the Latitude of 43 Degrees. To the West of it live the *Kikapous* and *Ainoves*,¹ who have two Villages; and to the West of these there is the Village of the *Illinois Cascaschia*, situated towards the Source of the River *Cbecagoumenans* [Chicago]. The *Autboutantas* and *Maskoutens-Nadoueffians* live within one hundred and thirty Leagues of the *Illinois*, in three great Villages, on the Banks of a fine River which discharges it self into the great River

¹ The Aiouas, or Iowas, a Siouan tribe; called by André (1676) Nadoessi Mascouteins, or "Sioux of the Prairies." When first known to the white men, this tribe were located in Southern Minnesota; but early in the nineteenth century dwelt on the Iowa and Des Moines Rivers, in the present State of Iowa.

The Kickapoos, an Algonquian tribe of Southern Wisconsin, were closely allied to the Mascouteins, whom they finally absorbed. The Kaskaskias were located south (not west) of the Kickapoos, near Utica, Ill. (see p. 146, note 1, ante). The other peoples here named are the Otoes and some other Siouan tribe (perhaps one of the Teton division; see p. 107, note 1, ante).—ED.

Meschafipi. We shall have occasion to talk of these and several other Nations.

Most of these Savages, and especially the *Illinois*, make their Cabins of flat Rushes, which they sew together, and line them with the same; so that no Rain can go through it. They are tall, strong, and manage their Bows and Arrows with great dexterity; for they did not know the use of Fire-Arms before we came into their Country. They are Lazy, Vagabonds, Timorous, Pettish, Thieves, and so fond of their Liberty, that they have no great Respect for their Chiefs.

Their Villages are open, and not enclos'd with Palisado's, as in some other Places, because they have not Courage enough to defend them, for they fly [106] away as soon as they hear their Enemies approach. Besides their Arrows, they use two other Weapons, a kind of a Pike, and a Club of Wood. Their Country is so fertile, that it supplies them with all Necessaries for Life, and especially since we taught them the use of Iron Tools to cultivate it.

Hermaphrodites are very common amongst them, which is so much the more surprizing, because I have not observ'd any such thing amongst the other Nations of the Northern *America*. Poligamy is allow'd amongst them; and they generally marry several Sisters, thinking they agree better than Strangers. They are exceedingly jealous, and cut the Noses of their Wives upon the least suspicion. Notwithstanding they have several Wives, they are so lascivious as to be guilty of Sodomy, and keep Boys whom they cloath with Womens Apparel, because they make of them that abominable Use.

These Boys live in their Families amongst Women, without going either to their Wars or Hunting.¹ As to their Religion I observ'd that they are very superstitious; but I cou'd never discover that they had any Worship, nor any Reason for their Superstition. They are great Gamesters, as well as all the other Savages that I have known in *America*.

As there are some stony Places in this Country, where there is a great quantity of Serpents, very trou[ble]some to the *Illinois*, they know several Herbs which are a quicker and surer Remedy against their Venom, than our Treacle or Orvietan. They rub themselves with these Herbs, after which they play with those dangerous Serpents, without receiving any hurt. They take the young ones and put them sometimes into their Mouth. They go stark naked in Summer-time, wearing only a kind of Shooes made of the Skins of Bulls; but the Winter being pretty severe in their Country, tho' very short, they wear Gowns made of the Skins of Wild Beasts, or of Bulls, which [107] they dress and paint most curiously, as I have already observ'd.

The *Illinois*, as most of the Savages of *America*, being brutish, wild, and stupid, and their Manners being so opposite to the Morals of the Gospel, their Conversion is to be despair'd of, till Time and Commerce with the *Europeans* has remov'd their natural Fierceness and Ignorance, and thereby made 'em more apt to be sensible of the Charms of Chris-

¹ A custom prevalent among the Southern and Western tribes, and mentioned by many travelers and writers, even down to a comparatively recent period. These boys and men, commonly known as "berdashes" (Fr. *bardache*), were held by the savages in the utmost contempt.—*Jes. Relations*, lix, pp. 309, 310.

tianity. I have met with some who were more teachable; and Father *Zenobe* told me, that he Baptiz'd two or three of them at the point of Death, because they desir'd it; and shew'd some good Disposition to induce him to grant that Demand. They will readily suffer us to baptize their Children, and would not refuse it themselves; but they are incapable of any previous Instruction concerning the Truth of the Gospel, and the Efficacy of the Sacraments. Would I follow the Example of some other Missionaries, I could have boasted of many Conversions; for I might have easily baptiz'd all those Nations, and then say, as I am afraid they do without any ground, That I had converted them.

Father *Zenobe* had met with two Savages, who had promis'd to follow him every where, whom he instructed and baptiz'd; but tho' they were more tractable than the rest, they would not leave their Country; and he understood afterwards, that one of them, whose Name was *Chassagouache*, was dead in the hands of the *Junglers*,¹ and consequently in the Superstitions of his Country-Men; so that his Baptism serv'd only to make him *duplo Filius Gebennæ*.²

¹ A reference to the medicine-men of the Indians, commonly called "jugglers" or "sorcerers" by French writers. For full accounts of their practices, as physicians, diviners, and sorcerers, see *Jes. Relations* (art. Indians: mythology, etc.—medicine-men).—ED.

² Shea points out (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 175, note †) that the entire chapter here ended is taken from Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 173–181.—ED.

[108] CHAP. XXXIV.

An Account of the Building of a New Fort on the River of the Illinois, named by the Savages Checagou, and by us Fort Crevecœur; as also a Barque to go down the River Meschafipi.

I MUST observe here, that the hardest Winter lasts not above two Months in this charming Country; so that on the 15th of *January* there came a sudden Thaw, which made the Rivers navigable, and the Weather so mild as it is with us in the middle of the Spring. *M. la Salle* improving this fair Season, desir'd me to go down the River with him to choose a Place fit to build our Fort. After having view'd the Country we pitch'd upon an Eminence on the Bank of the River, defended on that side by the River, and on two others by two Ditches the Rains had made very deep by succession of Time; so that it was accessible only by one way; therefore we cast a Line to joyn those two natural Ditches, and made the Eminence steep on every side, supporting the Earth with great pieces of Timber. We made a hasty Lodgment thereupon, to be ready to defend us in case the Savages would obstruct the building of our Fort; but no body offering to disturb us, we went on diligently with our work. Fathers *Gabriel*, *Zenobe*, and I, made in the mean time a Cabin of Planks, wherein our Workmen came to Prayers

every Morning and Evening; but having no Wine, we could not say Mass. The Fort being half finish'd, M. *la Salle* lodg'd himself in the middle with M. *Tonti*; and every body took his Post. We plac'd our Forge along the Courtin on the side of the Wood, and laid in a great quantity of Coals for that use.

In the mean time our thoughts were always bent [109] towards our Discovery, and M. *la Salle* and I had frequent Conferences about it: But our greatest difficulty was to build a Barque; for our Sawers being gone, we did not know what to do. However, as the Timber was cheap enough, we told our Men, that if any of them would undertake to saw Boards for Building the said Barque, we might surmount all other Difficulties. Two Men undertook it; and though they had never try'd it before, they succeeded very well, so that we began to build a Barque, the Keel whereof was forty two Foot long. Our Men went on so briskly with the Work, that on the first of *March* our Barque was half built, and all the Timber ready prepar'd for the finishing of it. Our Fort was also very near finish'd; and we nam'd it the Fort of *Crevecœur*, because the desertion of our Men, and the other Difficulties we labour'd under, had almost broke our Hearts.¹

Though the Winter is not harder nor longer in the Country of the *Illinois*, than in *Provence*, the Snow remain'd upon the Earth, in the Year 1680, for twenty days together,

¹ Shea thinks (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 175, note †) that La Salle thus named his fort out of compliment to Louis XIV, in allusion to his capture (1672) and subsequent demolition of Fort Crèvecoeur, a stronghold in the Netherlands, near Bois-le-Duc. La Salle's fort was located a little below Peoria.—ED.

which had not been seen in the Memory of Man. This made the Savages mightily concern'd, and brought upon us a World of inconveniencies, besides the many others we suffer'd. In the mean time we perfected our Fort; and our Barque was in such a forwardness, that we might have expected to be in a condition to sail in a very short time, had we been provided with all other Necessaries; but hearing nothing of our Ship, and therefore wanting the Rigging and other Tackle for our Barque, we found our selves in great perplexity, and did not know what to do in this sad Juncture, being above five hundred Leagues from Fort *Frontenac*, whither it was almost impossible to return at that time, because the Snow made the travelling very dangerous by Land, and the Ice made it impracticable to our Canou's.

[110] M. *la Salle* did not doubt then but his belov'd *Griffin* was lost¹; but neither this nor the other Difficulties dejected him; his great Courage buoy'd him up, and he resolv'd to return to Fort *Frontenac* by Land, notwithstanding the Snow, and the unspeakable Dangers attending so great a Voyage. We had a long Conference about it in private, wherein having examin'd all things, it was resolv'd, that he should return to Fort *Frontenac* with three Men, to bring along with him the necessary things to proceed on our Discovery, while I with two Men should go in a Canou to the River *Meschasipi*, and endeavour to get the Friendship of those Nations inhabiting the Banks of that River. Our Resolution was certainly very great and bold; but there was this essential

¹ See concluding portion of chap. xxii *ante*.—ED.

difference, that the Inhabitants of the Countries through which M. *la Salle* was to travel, knew the *Europeans*; whereas those Savages, whom I design'd to visit, had never heard of us in their Life; and had been represented by the *Illinois*, as the most barbarous Nations in the World. However, M. *la Salle* and I had Courage enough to undertake our difficult Task; but we had much ado to perswade five of our Men to follow us, or to engage to expect our Return at Fort *Crevecœur*.

CHAP. XXXV.

Containing an Account of what was transacted at Fort Crevecœur before M. la Salle's return to Fort Frontenac; and the Instructions we receiv'd from a Savage concerning the River Meschafipi.

BEFORE M. *la Salle* and I parted, we found means to undeceive our Men, and remov'd the groundless Fears they had conceiv'd from what the *Illinois*, through the Suggestions of *Monso*, had told us concerning [III] the Dangers, or rather the Impossibility of Sailing upon the River *Meschafipi*. Some Savages inhabiting beyond that River, came to the Camp of the *Illinois*, and gave us an Account of it, very different from what *Nikanape* had told us; some other Savages own'd that it was navigable, and not interrupted by Rocks and Falls, as the *Illinois* would make us believe; and one of the *Illinois* themselves, being gain'd by some small Presents, told us in great secrefie, that the Account their Chief had given us, was a downright Forgery, contriv'd on purpose to oblige us to give over our Enterprize. This reviv'd somewhat our Men; but yet they were still wavering and irresolute; and therefore M. *la Salle* said, that he would fully convince them, that the *Illinois* had resolv'd in their

Council to forge that Account, in order to stop our Voyage; and few days after we met with a favourable opportunity for it.

The *Illinois* had made an Excursion South-ward; as they were returning with some Prisoners, one of their Warriours came before their Comrades, and visited us at our Fort; we entertain'd him as well as we could, and ask'd him several Questions touching the River *Meschabipi*, from whence he came, and where he had been oftentimes, giving him to understand that some other Savage had given us an Account of it. He took a piece of Charcoal, and drew a Map of the Course of that River, which I found afterwards pretty exact; and told us, that he had been in a *Pyroque*; that is, a Canou made of the Trunk of a Tree, from the Mouth of this River, very near the Place where the *Meschabipi* falls into the great Lake; for so they call the Sea: That there was neither Falls, nor rapid Currents, as we had been told; that it was very broad towards the great Lake, and interrupted with Banks of Sand; but that there were large Canals betwixt them, deep enough for any *Pyroque*. He told [112] us also the Name of several Nations inhabiting the Banks of *Meschabipi*, and of several Rivers that fall into it. I set down in my Journal all that he told us, of which I shall perhaps give a larger Account in another place. We made him a small Present, to thank him for his Kindness, in discovering a Truth, which the Chief of his Nation had so carefully conceal'd. He desir'd us to hold our tongue, and never to mention him, which we prom-

is'd; and gave him an Axe, wherewith we shut his mouth, according to the Custom of the Savages, when they recommend a Secret.

The next day, after Prayers, we went to the Village of the *Illinois*; whom we found in the Cabin of one of their Chiefs; who entertain'd them with a Bear, whose Flesh is much valu'd among them. They desir'd us to sit down upon a fine Mat of Rushes: And some time after our Interpreter told them, that we were come to acquaint them, that the Maker of all Things, and the Master of the Lives of Men, took a particular Care of us, and had been pleas'd to let us have a true Account of the River *Meschaspi*; the Navigation whereof they had represented to us as impracticable. We added all the Particulars we had learn'd, but in such Terms, that it was impossible they should suspect any of their Men.

The Savages were much surpriz'd, and did not doubt but we had that Account by some extraordinary Way; therefore they shut their Mouths with their Hands; which is their usual Custom to express their Admiration by. They told us frankly afterwards, that the great desire they had to stop amongst them our Captain, and the *Grey-Coats* or *Barefoot*, as they call the *Franciscans*, had oblig'd them to forge the Stories they had told us, and to conceal the Truth; but since we had come to the Knowledge of it by another way, they would tell us all that they knew; and confirm'd every Particular their Warriour had [113] told us. This Confession remov'd the Fears of our Men, who were few days after still more fully perswaded that the *Illinois* had only design'd to frighten us

from our Discovery: For several Savages of the Nations of *Osages*, *Cikaga*, and *Akanfa*,¹ came to see us, and brought fine Furs to barter for our Axes. They told us that the *Meschasipi* was navigable almost from its Source to the Sea; and gave us great Encouragement to go on with our Design, assuring us, that all the Nations inhabiting along the River, from the Mouth of that of the *Illinois*, to the Sea, would come to meet us, and dance the *Calumet* of Peace,² as they express it, and make an Alliance with us.

The *Miami's* arriv'd much about that time, and danc'd the *Calumet* with the *Illinois*, making an Alliance with them against the *Iroquese*, their implacable Enemies. We were Witnesses to their Treaty; and M. *la Salle* made them some Presents, the better to oblige both Parties to the Observation of their League.

We were three Missionaries for that handful of *Europeans* at Fort *Crevecœur*; and therefore we thought fit to divide our

¹ J. O. Dorsey thinks (*Amer. Naturalist*, xx, pp. 211-222) that, ages ago, all the Siouan race dwelt east of the Mississippi, and gradually moved westward. Five tribes — the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas — were then together as one nation; they were called Arkansa (Akansa) by the Illinois tribes, and lived near the Ohio. At the mouth of that river they separated (prior to 1540), the Kwapas descending, the other tribes ascending, the Mississippi. At another and later separation, after these latter tribes had gone some distance up the Missouri, the Osages and Kansas settled on the rivers bearing those respective names.

The Chicasas (Cikaga, Chickasaws), a Maskoki tribe in Northern Mississippi, were warlike and enterprising, and carried on trade with the English as early as 1700. Frequent hostilities occurred between them and the French, and tribes defeated by the latter sought refuge among the Chicasas. — *Jes. Relations*, lxiv, pp. 279, 280; lxviii, 328.

² Regarding the calumet dance, see *Jes. Relations*, li, pp. 47-49; lix, 129, 137, 159, 311 (where is given the notation of the song accompanying the dance); lxiv, 29; lxv, 121, 125, 149, 267; lxvii, 249-253, 299; lxix, 289. Cf. Charlevoix's *Journal historique*, pp. 296, 297; and U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep., 1881-82, pp. 276-282. — ED.

selves: Father *Gabriel* being very old, was to continue with our Men; and Father *Zenobe* among the *Illinois*, having desir'd it himself, in hopes to convert that numerous Nation: And I, as I have already related, was to go on with our Discovery. Father *Zenobe* liv'd already among the *Illinois*, but the rude Manners of that People made him soon weary of it. His Landlord, whose Name was *Omabouba*, that is to say *Wolf*, was the Head of a Tribe, and took a special Care of Father *Zenobe*, especially after M. *la Salle* had made him some Presents: He lov'd him as his Child; but however, I perceiv'd in the Visits he made us, (for he liv'd but within half a League of our Fort) that he was not satisfi'd to live amongst that brutish Nation, though he had already learn'd their Tongue. This oblig'd me to offer him [114] to take his place, provided he would supply mine, and go on with our Discovery amongst several Nations, whose Language we did not understand, and who had never heard of us; but Father *Zenobe* foreseeing the Danger and Fatigue I was like to be expos'd to, chose to remain with the *Illinois*, whose Temper he knew, and with whom he was able to converse.

M. *la Salle* left M. *Tonti* to command in Fort *Crevecœur*, and order'd our Carpenter to prepare some thick Planks of Oak, to fence the Deck of our Barque in the nature of a Parapet, to cover it against the Arrows of the Savages, in case they design'd to shoot at us from the Shoar. Then calling his Men together, he desir'd them to obey M. *Tonti's* Orders in his Absence, to live in a Christian Union and Charity; to be courageous and firm in their Design; and

above all, to give no credit to the false Reports that the Savages might make unto them, either of him, or of their Comrades that were going with me. He assur'd them, that he would return with all the speed imaginable, and bring along with him a fresh Supply of Men, Ammunition, and Rigging for our Barque; and that in the mean time he left them Arms, and other things necessary for a vigorous Defence, in case their Enemies should attack them before his Return.

He told me afterwards, that he expected I should depart without any farther Delay; but I told him, that tho' I had promis'd him to do it, yet a Defluxion I had on my Gums a Year since, as he knew very well, oblig'd me to return to *Canada*, to be cur'd; and that I would then come back with him. He was very much surpriz'd, and told me, he would write to my Superiours, that I had obstructed the good Success of our Mission, and desir'd Father *Gabriel* to persuade me to the contrary. That good Man had been my Master, during my *Novitiate* in [115] our Convent of *Bethune*, in the Province of *Artois*; and therefore I had so great a Respect for him, that I yielded to his Advice; and consider'd, that since a Man of his Age had ventur'd to come along with me in so dangerous a Mission, it would look as Pusillanimity in me to return and leave him. That Father had left a very good Estate, being Heir of a Noble Family of the Province of *Burgundy*; and I must own, that his Example reviv'd my Courage upon several Occasions.

M. *la Salle* was mightily pleas'd when I told him I was

resolv'd to go, notwithstanding my Indisposition: He embrac'd me, and gave me a *Calumet* of Peace; and two Men to manage our Canou, whose Names were *Anthony Auguel*, firnam'd the *Picard du Gay*; and *Mitchel Ako*,¹ of the Province of *Poictou*, to whom he gave some Commodities to the value of about 1000 Livres, to trade with the Savages, or make Presents. He gave to me in particular, and for my own use, ten Knives, twelve Shooe-maker's Auls or Bodkins, a small Roll of Tobacco from *Martinico*, about two Pounds of *Raf-fade*²; that is to say, Little Pearls or Rings of colour'd Glafs, wherewith the Savages make Bracelets, and other Works, and a small Parcel of Needles to give to the Savages; telling me, that he would have given me a greater quantity, if it had been in his Power.

The Reader may judge by these Particulars, of the rest of my Equipage for so great an Undertaking; however, relying my self on the Providence of God, I took my leave of M. *la Salle*, and embrac'd all our Men, receiving the Blessing of Father *Gabriel*, who told me several things, to inspire me with Courage; concluding his Exhortation by these Words of the Scripture, *Viriliter age, & confortetur Cor tuum*.

¹ Antoine Auguel was called "le Picard," because he came from the province of Picardy. Michel Accau (Ako) was a trader, who had married the daughter of a Kaskaskia chief. Parkman says (*La Salle*, p. 173, note 1): "It appears, from La Salle's letters, that Accau was the real chief of the party; that their orders were to explore, not only the Illinois, but also a part of the Mississippi; and that Hennepin volunteered to go with the others."—ED.

² The term *rassade* was applied to spherical or ovate wampum beads; the long tubular beads were called *canons*.—ED.

M. *la Salle* fet out a few days after for *Canada*, with three Men, without any Provisions, but what they kill'd in their Journey, during which they suffer'd [116] very much, by reason of the Snow, Hunger and cold Weather.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Author sets out from Fort Crevecœur, to continue his Voyage.

WHOSOEVER will consider the Dangers to which I was going to expose my self, in an unknown Country, where no *European* had travell'd before, and amongst some Savages, whose Language I did not understand, will not blame the Reluctancy I expressed against that Voyage: I had such an Idea of it, that neither the fair Words, or Threats of M. *la Salle*, would have been able to engage me to venture my Life so rashly, had I not felt within my self a secret but strong Assurance, if I may use that Word, that God would help and prosper my Undertaking.

We set out from Fort *Crevecœur* on the 29th of *February*, 1680, and as we fell down the River, we met with several Companies of Savages, who return'd to their Habitations, with their *Pirogues* or Wooden-Canou's, loaded with the Bulls they had kill'd: they would fain persuade us to return with them, and the two Men who were with me, were very willing to follow their Advice; telling me that M. *la Salle* had as good to have murther'd us: But I oppos'd their Design, and told them that the rest of our Men wou'd stop them as they shou'd come by the Fort, if they offer'd to return, and so we continu'd our Voyage. They confes'd to me the next

Day, that they had resolv'd to leave me with the Savages, and make their Escape with the Canou and Commodities, thinking that there was no Sin in that, since M. *la Salle* was indebted to them in a great deal more than their Value; and that I had been very safe. This was the [117] first Discouragement I met with, and the Forerunner of a great many others.

The River of the *Illinois* is very near as deep and broad as the *Meuse* and *Sambre* before *Namur*; but we found some Places where 'tis about a quarter of a League broad. The Banks of the River are not even, but interrupted with Hills, dispos'd almost at an equal distance, and cover'd with fine Trees. The Valley between them is a Marshy Ground, which is overflow'd after great Rains, especially in the Autumn and the Spring. We had the Curiosity to go up one of those Hills, from whence we discover'd vast Meadows, with Forests, such as we had seen before we arriv'd at the Village of the *Illinois*. The River flows so softly, that the Current is hardly perceptible, except when it swells: But it will carry at all times great Barques for above 100 Leagues; that is, from the said Village to its Mouth. It runs directly to the South-west. On the 7th of *March* we met, within two Leagues from the River *Meschafipi*, a Nation of the Savages call'd *Tamaroa* or *Maroa*,¹ consisting of about 200 Families. They design'd to bring us along with them to their Village, which lies to the

¹ An Illinois tribe, settled at that time on the east side of the Mississippi, with another tribe called Kaoukia (whence the later name of the French town there established, Cahokia); that tribe was eventually absorbed by the Tamaroas.—ED.

West of *Meschafpi*, about seven Leagues from the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*; but my Men follow'd my Advice, and wou'd not stop, in hopes to exchange their Commodities with more Advantage in a more remote Place. Our Resolution was very good; for I don't question but they would have robb'd us; for seeing we had some Arms, they thought we were going to carry them to their Enemies. They pursu'd us in their *Pyrogues* or Wooden-Canows; but ours being made of Bark of Birch-Trees, and consequently ten times lighter than theirs, and better fram'd, we laugh'd at their Endeavours, and got clear of them. They had sent a Party of their Warriours to lie in Ambuscade on a Neck of Land advancing into the River, where they thought we should pass that Evening or the next Morning; [118] but having discover'd some Smoak on that Point, we spoil'd their Design, and therefore cross'd the River, and landed in a small Island near the other side, where we lay all the Night, leaving our Canou in the Water, under the Guard of a little Dog; who doubtless wou'd have awak'd us, if any body had offer'd to come near him; as we expected the Savages might attempt it, swimming over in the Night; but no body came to disturb us. Having thus avoided those Savages, we came to the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, distant from their great Village about 100 Leagues, and 50 from Fort *Crevecoeur*. It falls into the *Meschafpi* between 35 and 36 Degrees of Latitude, and within 120 or 130 Leagues from the Gulph of *Mexico*, according to our Conjecture, without including the

Turnings and Windings of the *Meschafipi*, from thence to the Sea.

The Angle between the two Rivers on the South-side, is a steep Rock of forty Foot high, and flat on the Top, and consequently a fit Place to build a Fort; and on the other side of the River, the Ground appears blackish, from whence I judge that it would prove fertile, and afford two Crops every Year, for the subsistence of a Colony. The Soil looks as if it had been already manur'd.

The Ice which came down from the Source of the *Meschafipi*, stopp'd us in that Place till the 12th of *March*; for we were afraid of our Canou: But when we saw the Danger over, we continu'd our Course, founding the River, to know whether it was navigable. There are three small Islands over-against the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, which stop the Trees and Pieces of Timber that come down the River; which by succession of time, has form'd some Banks: But the Canals are deep enough for the greatest Barques; and I judge that in the driest Summer, there is Water enough for flat-bottom-Boats.

[119] The *Meschafipi* runs to the South-South-West, between two Ridges of Mountains, which follow the great Windings of the River. They are near the Banks, at the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, and are not very high; but in other Places, they are some Leagues distant; and the Meadows between the River and the Foot of those Hills, are cover'd with an infinite number of wild Bulls. The

Country beyond those Hills is so fine and pleasant, that according to the Account I have had, one might justly call it the *Delight of America*.

The *Meschasipi* is in some places a League broad, and half a League where it is narrowest. The Rapidity in its Current is somewhat abated, by a great number of Islands, cover'd with fine Trees interlac'd with Vines. It receives but two Rivers from the west Side, one whereof is call'd *Otontenta*; and the other discharges it self into it near the Fall of St. *Anthony of Padoua*, as we shall observe hereafter¹; But so many others run into the *Meschasipi* from the North, that it swells very much toward its Mouth.

I am resolv'd to give here an Account of the Course of that River; which I have hitherto conceal'd, for the Sake of M. *la Salle*, who wou'd ascribe to himself alone the Glory, and the most secret Part of this Discovery. He was so fond of it, that he has expos'd to visible danger several Persons, that they might not publish what they had seen, and thereby prejudice his secret Designs.

¹ The Des Moines and Minnesota Rivers; and the Falls of St. Anthony, at the present Minneapolis, Minn.—ED.

[120] CHAP. XXXVII.

The Course of the River Mefchafipi from the Mouth of the River of the Illinois, to the Sea; which the Author did not think fit to publish in his Louifiana; with an Account of the Reafons he had to undertake that Discovery.

THERE is no Man but remembers with Pleafure the great Dangers he has escap'd; and I muft confefs, that when I call to mind the great Difficulties I was under at the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, and the Perils I was expos'd to in the Discovery of the Courfe of the *Mefchafipi*, my Joy and Satisfaction cannot be exprefs'd. I was as good as fure that M. *la Salle* wou'd flander me, and represent me to my Superiors as a wilful and obftinate Man, if I prefum'd to go down the *Mefchafipi* inftead of going up to the *North*, as I was defir'd, and as we had conferted together; and therefore I was very loath to undertake it: But on the other Hand, I was expos'd to ftarve, and threatned by my two Men, that if I oppos'd their Refolution of going down the River, they would leave me a-fhoar during the Night, and carry away the Canou where-ever they pleas'd; fo that I thought it was reafonable to prefer my own Prefervation to the Ambition of M. *la Salle*; and fo I agreed to follow my

Men; who seeing me in that good Disposition, promis'd that they would be faithful to me.¹

We shook Hands, to seal these Promises; and after Prayers, embark'd in our Canou the 8th of *March*, 1680. The Ice which came down from the North, gave us a great deal of trouble; but we were so careful, that our Canou receiv'd no hurt; and after six Hours rowing, we came to a River of a Nation call'd *Osages*, who live toward the *Messorites*.² That [121] River comes from the Westward, and seems as big as the *Meschasipi*; but the Water is so muddy, that 'tis almost impossible to drink of it.

The *Iffati*,³ who inhabit toward the Source of the *Meschasipi*, make sometimes Excursions as far as the Place where I was then; and I understood afterwards from them, having learn'd their Language, that this River of the *Osages* and *Messorites*, is form'd from several other Rivers, which spring from a Mountain about twelve Day's Journey from its Mouth. They told me farther, that from that Mountain

¹ Here begins Hennepin's pretended account of a voyage down the Mississippi, which, as Parkman (*La Salle*, pp. 225-230) and other writers claim, was largely adapted and expanded from Membré's account of his voyage with La Salle, as given in Le Clercq's *Etablissement de la Foy*, ii, beginning at p. 216 (see Shea's translation of that work, ii, pp. 163-184). In the *Louisiane* (p. 218), Hennepin distinctly states that he did not explore the lower Mississippi, being prevented from doing so by his captivity among the Sioux.—ED.

² By early explorers, the Missouri was often called River of Osages, from that tribe of Indians; the name was afterward restricted to a tributary of the Missouri, the Osage River. The Missouris (Messorites) were a Siouan tribe, allied to the Iowas and Otoes, and then living on the river which bears their name.—ED.

³ The Isanti (now called Santee), a tribe of the Dakota confederacy, whose early home was on Spirit Lake, Minn.—ED.

one might see the Sea, and now and then some great Ships; that the Banks of that River are inhabited by several Nations; and that they have abundance of wild Bulls and Beavers.

Tho' this River is very big, the *Meschasipi* does not visibly swell by the accession of it; but its Waters continue muddy to its Mouth, albeit seven other Rivers fall into it, which are near as big as the *Meschasipi*, and whose Waters are extraordinary clear.

We lay every Night in Islands, at least if it were possible, for our greater Security; and as soon as we had roasted or boyl'd our *Indian* Corn, we were very careful to put out our Fire; for in these Countries they smell Fire at two or three Leagues distance, according to the Wind. The Savages take a particular notice of it, to discover where their Enemies are, and endeavour to surprize them.

The 9th we continu'd our Voyage, and six Leagues from the River of the *Osages*, discover'd on the South-side of the *Meschasipi*, a Village, which we thought to be inhabited by the *Tamaroa*, who had pursu'd us, as I have related. Seeing no body appear, we landed, and went into their Cabins, wherein we found *Indian* Corn, of which we took some Bushels, leaving in lieu of it six Knives, and a small quantity of little Glafs-Beads. This was good luck for us; for we [122] durst not leave the River, and go a hunting for fear of falling into the Hands of the Savages.

The next Day, being the Tenth of *March*, we came to a River within Forty Leagues of *Tamaroa*; near which, as the *Illinois* inform'd us, there is a Nation of Savages call'd

Ouadebache.¹ We remain'd there till the Fourteenth, because one of our Men kill'd a wild Cow, as she was swimming over the River, whose Flesh we were oblig'd to dry with Smoak, to preserve it from putrifying. Being thus provided with *Indian* Corn and Flesh, we left that Place the Fourteenth, and saw nothing worth Observation. The Banks of the River are so muddy, and so full of Rushes and Reeds, that we had much ado to find a Place to go ashore.

The Fifteenth we discover'd three Savages, who came from Hunting, or from some Expedition. As we were able to make head against them, we landed, and march'd up to them; whereupon they run away; but after some Signs, one return'd, and presented us the *Calumet* of Peace, which we receiv'd; and the others came back. We did not understand a Word of what they said; nor they, I suppose, what we told them: Tho' having nam'd them two or three different Nations, one answer'd three times *Cbikacha*, or *Sikacha*, which was likely the Name of his Nation. They gave us some *Pelicans* they had kill'd with their Arrows; and we presented them with part of our Meat. Our Canou being too little to take them in, they continu'd their way, making several Signs with their Hands, to follow them along the Shore; but we quickly lost the Sight of them.

Two days after, we saw a great number of Savages near

¹ Evidently referring to the Ohio River, the lower part of which was then commonly known as the Ouabache. Shea regards this sentence as one of the evidences that Hennepin was not responsible for this interpolated matter regarding the lower Mississippi; he says (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 345, note †): "Hennepin knew enough about the country not to make a nation called Ouadebache, as is done here."—ED.

the River-side; and heard immediately after a certain Noise, as of a Drum; and as we came near the Shore, the Savages cry'd aloud *Sasacouest*; that is to say, *Who goes there?* as I have been inform'd.¹ We were unwilling to land; but they sent us a *Pirogue* [123] or heavy Wooden Canou, made of the Trunk of a Tree, which they make hollow with Fire; and we discover'd amongst them the three Savages we had met two Days before. We presented our *Calumet* of Peace, which they receiv'd; but gave us to understand by Signs, that we must go to the *Akanfa*; for they repeated so often that Word, pointing at the Savages a-shore, that I believe this is the right Name of their Nation. We cou'd not avoid it; and as soon as we were landed, the three *Chikacha* took our Canou upon their Shoulders, and carry'd it to the Village. The Savages receiv'd us very kindly, and gave us a Cabin for our selves alone; and presented us with Beans, *Indian* Corn, and Flesh to eat. We made them also some Presents of our *European* Commodities, which they admir'd: They put their Fingers upon their Mouth, especially when they saw our Guns; and I think this way of expressing their Surprise, is common to all the Savages of the Northern *America*.

These Savages are very different from those of the North, who are commonly sad, pensive, and severe; whereas these appear'd jovial, civil, and free. Their Youth are so modest,

¹ Also cited by Shea (*ut supra*, p. 346, *note* †) to prove that Hennepin did not write this account: "Sasacouest, that is to say war-cries (Le Clercq, ii, p. 235), and in the East, Chichiquois was a word adopted by the French, and is used by Membre. Hennepin must have known its meaning, and would not have made the blunder here committed."—ED.

that they dare not speak before Old Men, unless they are ask'd any Question. I observed they have tame Poultry, as Hens, Turkey-Cocks, and Bustards, which are as tame as our Geese. Their Trees began to shew their Fruit, as Peaches, and the like; which must be a great deal bigger than ours. Our Men lik'd very well the Manner of these People; and if they had found any Furrs and Skins to barter for their Commodities, they would have left me amongst them; but I told them, that our Discovery was more important to them than their Trade; and advis'd them to hide their Commodities under-ground, which they might take again upon our return, and exchange them with the Savages of the North. They approv'd my Advice, and were [124] sensible that they should prevent many Dangers; for Men are covetous in all Countries.

The Eighteenth we embark'd again, after having been entertain'd with Dancing and Feasting; and carry'd away our Commodities, tho' the Savages were very loth to part with them; but having accepted our *Calumet* of Peace, they did not presume to stop us by Force.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Continuation of our Voyage on the River Mefchafipi.

AS we fell down the River, we look'd for a fit Place to hide our Commodities, and at laſt pitch'd upon one between two Eminences near a Wood. We took up the green Sodds, lay'd them by, and digg'd a Hole in the Earth, where we put our Goods, and cover'd them with Pieces of Timber and Earth, and then put on again the green Turf; ſo that 'twas impoſſible to ſuſpect that any Hole had been digg'd under it, for we flung the Earth into the River. We tore afterwards the Bark of three Oaks and of a large Cotton-tree, and ingrav'd thereon four Croſſes, that we might not miſs the Place at our Return. We embark'd again with all ſpeed, and paſt by another Village of Savages about fix Leagues from *Akanſa*, and then landed at another two Leagues lower, where we were kindly entertain'd. Men, Women, and Children came to meet us; which makes me believe that the firſt *Akanſa* had given notice of our arrival, to all the Villages of their Nation. We made them ſome Preſents of little Value, which they thought very conſiderable. Preſents are the Symbols of Peace in all thoſe Countries.

The Twenty firſt thoſe Savages carry'd us in a *Pyroque* to ſee a Nation farther off into the Country, [125] which they

call *Taensa*; for they repeated often that Word, so that we could not but remember it. Those Savages inhabit the Banks of a Lake form'd by the *Meschafipi*; but I had not time enough to make any particular Observation concerning several of the Villages which I saw.¹

These Savages receiv'd us with much more Ceremonies than the *Akanfa*; for their Chief came in great Solemnity to the Shore to meet us. He had a kind of a white Gown on, made of Cloth of Bark of Trees, which their Women spun²; and two Men carry'd before him a thin Plate of Copper, as shining as Gold. We presented our *Calumet* of Peace, which he receiv'd with Joy and much Gravity. The Men, Women, and Children, who attended him, express'd a great Respect for me, and kiss'd the Sleeves of the *Habit* of *St. Francis*; which made me believe that they had seen some *Spanish Franciscans* from *New Mexico*, it being usual there to kiss the *Habit* of our Order: But this is a meer Conjecture; tho' I observ'd they did not pay that Respect to the two Men that were with me.

The *Taensa* conducted us into a fine Cabin of flat Rushes and shining Reeds,³ and entertain'd us as well as their Country

¹ The Taensa tribe were located in what is now Tensas county, La., on the east side of the Mississippi. When Iberville visited them (1700), they had seven villages, grouped around a lake, probably Lake St. Joseph.—*Jes. Relations*, lxx, 267.

² Cloth was spun, by the women of Southern tribes, from the bark of the mulberry tree; see description of this process in Le Page du Pratz's *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758), ii, pp. 191-193. See also Holmes's "Prehistoric Textile Art," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891-92, pp. 3-46.—ED.

³ These "reeds" were obtained from the "canebrakes" of that region—a dense growth formed by the stems of *Arundinaria macrosperma*, a tall, woody grass, allied to the bamboo.—ED.

could afford; and then Men and Women, who are half cover'd in that Country, danc'd together before us. Their way of Dancing is much more difficult than ours, but perhaps as pleasant, were it not for their Musick, which is very disagreeable. Women repeat every Word the Men have sung.

That Country is full of Palm-trees, wild Laurels, Plum-trees, Mulberry-trees, Peach-trees, Apple-trees, and Walnut-trees of five or six kinds, whose Nuts are a great deal bigger than ours. They have also several sorts of Fruit-trees unknown in *Europe*, but I could not discern the Fruit, because of the Season of the Year.

[126] The Manners and Temper of that Nation is very different from that of the *Iroquese*, *Hurons*, and *Illinois*. These are Civil, Easie, Tractable, and capable of Instructions; whereas the others are meer Brutes, as fierce and cruel as any wild Beasts. We lay that Night in their Village, and were entertain'd as civilly as we could have wish'd for; and we did likewise our utmost to oblige them: We shew'd them the Effect of our Fire-Arms, and a Pistol which shot four Bullets one after another, without needing to be new charg'd. Our Men took their best Cloth, which pleas'd them very much; and they seem'd well satisfy'd with us, as they express'd by many Signs and Demonstrations. They sent overnight to the *Koroa*,¹ who are their Allies, to give them notice of our Arrival; and their Chief came next Morning in great

¹ This tribe were then living on the west side of the Mississippi, above Natchez; later, they wandered to the Yazoo River. They were finally merged in the Cha'htas (Choctaws).—ED.

Ceremony to fee us. They seem'd transported with Joy, and 'tis great pity we could not understand what they told us, to know what Opinion they entertain'd of us, and from what Part of the World they fancied we came. I order'd my Men to square a Tree, and having made a Crofs, we planted it near the Cabin where we lay.

The Twenty second we left that obliging People, and the Chief of the *Koroa* attended us to his Village, which is situated about ten Leagues lower, upon the River, in a fertile Soil, which produces abundance of *Indian* Corn, and other things necessary for Life. We presented them with three Axes, six Knives, seven Yards of good Tobacco, several Awls and Needles. They receiv'd our Presents with great Shouts, and their Chief presented us with a *Calumet* of Peace of red Marble, the Quill whereof was adorn'd with Feathers of five or six sorts of Birds.

They gave us also a Noble Treat according to their own way, which I lik'd very well; and after we had din'd, the Chief of that Nation understanding by our Signs which way we were bound, took a Stick, and [127] made such Demonstrations, that we understood that we had not above seven Days Journey to the Sea, which he represented as a great Lake with large wooden Canou's. The next Day we prepar'd to continue our Voyage; but they made such Signs to oblige us to stay a Day or two longer, that I was almost perswaded to do it; but seeing the Weather so favourable for our Journey, we embark'd again. The Chief of that Nation, seeing we were resolv'd to be gone, sent several Men

in two *Pyrogues*, to attend us to the Mouth of the River with Provisions; but when I saw that the three *Chikacha*, of whom I have spoken, follow'd us every where, I bid my Men to have care of them, and observe their Motions upon our landing, for fear of any Surprize. It was then *Easter-day*, which we kept with great Devotion, tho' we could not say Mass for want of Wine; but we spent all the Day in Prayers in sight of the Savages, who wonder'd much at it.

The *Meschafipi* divides it self into two Channels, and thereby forms a large Island, which to our thinking was very long, and might be about sixty Leagues broad. The *Koroa* oblig'd us to follow the Canal to the Westward, tho' the *Chikacha*, who were in their *Pyrogues*, endeavour'd to persuade me to take the other: But as we had some suspicion of them, we refus'd to follow their Advice; tho' I was afterwards convinc'd, that they design'd only to have the Honour to bring us to several Nations on the other Side of the River, whom we visited in our return.

We lost quickly the Company of our Savages; for the Stream being very rapid in this Place, they could not follow us in their *Pyrogues*, which are very heavy. We made that Day near forty Leagues, and landed in the Evening upon the Island, where we pitch'd our Cabin.

The Twenty fourth we continu'd our Voyage; and about five and thirty Leagues below the Place [128] we had lain, we discover'd two Fishermen, who immediately ran away. We heard some time after a great Cry, and the Noise of a Drum; but as we suspected the *Chikacha*, we kept in the

middle of the River, rowing as fast as we could. This was the Nation of *Quinipiffa*,¹ as we understood since. We landed that Night in a Village belonging to the Nation of *Tangibao*, as we have been inform'd; but the Inhabitants had been surpriz'd by their Enemies, for we found ten of them murther'd in their Cabins; which oblig'd us to embark again, and cross the River, where we landed, and having made a Fire, roasted our *Indian Corn*.

The Twenty fifth we left the Place early in the Morning; and after having row'd the best part of the Day, came to a Point where the *Meschafipi* divides it self into three Channels: We took the middle one, which is very broad and deep. The Water began there to taste brackish, but four Leagues lower it was as salt as the Sea. We rowed about four Leagues farther, and discover'd the Sea, which oblig'd us to go ashore to the Eastward of the River.

¹ Also called, by some writers, Acolapissas; a Cha'hta band who had migrated to the region north of New Orleans; Hennepin may have confounded them with the Mugulashas and Bayagoulas, who dwelt in one village — "64 leagues from the sea," according to Iberville. See Shea's notes on this account, in his translation of Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, pp. 176, 177.—ED.

CHAP. XXXIX.

*Reasons which oblig'd us to return towards the Source of the River
Meschafipi, without going any farther toward the Sea.*

MY two Men were very much afraid of the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, who inhabit to the Westward of this River; and they were perpetually telling me, that if they were taken, the *Spaniards* would never spare their Lives, or at least give them the Liberty to return into *Europe*. I knew their Fears were not altogether unreasonable; and therefore I resolv'd to go no farther, tho' I had no reason to be [129] afraid for my self, our Order being so numerous in *New Mexico*, that, on the contrary, I might expect to have had in that Country a peaceable and easie Life.

I don't pretend to be a Mathematician, but having learn'd to take the Elevation of the Pole, and make use of the Astrolabe, I might have made some exact Observations, had M. la Salle trusted me with that Instrument: However, I observ'd that the *Meschafipi* falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, between the 27th and 28th Degrees of Latitude, where, as I believe, our Maps mark a River call'd *Rio Escondido*, the Hidden River. The *Magdalen River*¹ runs between this

¹ A name vaguely applied, on various early maps, to the Sabine, the San Antonio, and the Rio Grande.—ED.

River and the Mines of *St. Barbe* that are in *New Mexico*.

The Mouth of the *Meschasipi* may be about thirty Leagues from *Rio Bravo*, fixty from *Palmas*, and eighty or a hundred from *Rio Panuco*, the nearest Habitation of the *Spaniards*; and according to these Observations, the Bay *di Spirito Santo*¹ lies to the North-East of the *Meschasipi*, which from the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois* to the Sea, runs directly to the South, or South-West, except in its Windings and Turnings, which are so great, that by our Computation there are about 340 Leagues from the River of the *Illinois* to the Sea, whereas there are not above 150 in a direct Line. The *Meschasipi* is very deep, without being interrupted by any Sands, so that the biggest Ships may come into it. Its Course from its Source to the Sea, may be 800 Leagues, including Windings and Turnings, as I shall observe anon, having travell'd from its Mouth to its Head.

My Men were very glad of this Discovery, and to have escap'd so many Dangers; but, on the other hand, they express'd a great deal of dissatisfaction to have been at such trouble, without making any Profit, having found no Furrs to exchange for their Commodities. They were so impatient to return, that they would never suffer me to build a Cabin upon [130] the Shoar, and continue there for some days, the better to observe where we were. They squar'd a Tree of twelve foot high, and made a Cross thereof, which we erected

¹ The name first given by the Spaniards to Mobile Bay. *Rio Bravo* was an early name of the *Rio Grande*; *Rio Palmas* seems to correspond to the present *Rio de San Fernando*; and at the mouth of *Rio Panuco* is the city of *Tampico*, Mex.—ED.

in that Place, leaving there a Letter sign'd by me and my two Men, containing an Account of our Voyage, of our Country, and Profession. We kneel'd then near the Crofs, and having fung the *Vexilla Regis*, and some other Hymns, embark'd again on the first of *April* to return towards the Source of the River.

We saw no body while we continu'd there, and therefore cannot tell whether any Natives inhabit that Coast. We lay, during the time we remain'd a-shoar, under our Canou's, supported with four Forks; and the better to protect us against the Rain, we had some Rolls of Birch-Bark, where-with we made a kind of Curtains about our Canou, hanging from the top down to the ground. 'Tis observable, that during the whole Course of our Sailing, God protected us against the Crocodiles, which are very numerous in that River, and especially towards the Mouth: They look'd dreadful, and would have attack'd us, had we not been very careful to avoid them. We were very good Husbands of our *Indian* Corn; for the Banks of the River being full of Reeds, it was almost impossible to land to endeavour to kill some Beasts for our Subsistence.

Our Canou being loaded only with three Men and our Provisions, did not draw three Inches Water, and therefore we could row very near the Shoar, and avoid the Current of the River; and besides, my Men had such a desire to return to the North, that that very day we came to *Tangibao*; but because the Savages we had found murder'd in their Cabins, made us believe, that that Place was not safe, we continu'd

our Voyage all the Night long, after having supp'd, lighting a great Match to fright the Crocodiles away for they fear nothing so much as Fire.

[131] The next day, *April 2.* we saw towards break of Day a great Smoak not far from us, and a little while after we discover'd four Savage Women loaded with Wood, and marching as fast as they could to get to their Village before us; but we prov'd too nimble for them at first. However, some Bustards coming near us, one of my Men could not forbear to shoot at them; which so much frightened these Women, that they left their Load of Wood, and run away to their Village, where they arriv'd before us. The Savages having heard the Noise, were in as great fear as their Wives, and left the Village upon our approach; but I landed immediately, and advanc'd alone with the *Calumet* of Peace; whereupon they return'd, and receiv'd us with all the Respect and Civility imaginable. They brought us into a great Cabin, and gave us several things to eat, sending notice in the mean time to their Allies, that we were arriv'd there; so that a great number of People crowded about to see us. They admir'd our Guns, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, made us conceive they compar'd them to Thunder and Lightning; but seeing us shoot Birds at a great distance, they were so amaz'd that they could not speak a word. Our Men were so kindly entertain'd, that had it not been for the Commodities they had hid under-ground, they would have remain'd amongst that Nation; and truly it was chiefly to prevent any such thing, that I order'd them to do it; judging from the

Civility of those Savages, that they were like to be tempted to remain with them. This Nation call'd themselves *Quinipiffa*.

We made them some small Presents, to shew our Gratitude for their kind Entertainment, and left that Place, *April* 4. and row'd with such diligence, that we arriv'd the same day at *Koroa*. That Nation was not frighted as at the first time, but receiv'd us with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy, carrying our [132] Canou upon their Shoulders in a triumphant manner, and twelve Men dancing before us with fine Feathers in their hands. The Women follow'd us with their Children, who held me by my Gown and Girdle, expressing much the same Kindness to my two Men. They conducted me in that manner to the Cabin they had prepar'd for us, made of fine Mats of painted Rushes, and adorn'd with white Coverings made of the Bark of Trees, spun as finely as our Linen-Cloth; and after we had refresh'd our selves, with the Victuals they had prepar'd for us, they left us alone, to give us time to rest our selves, which we did all the Night long. The next Morning I was surpriz'd to see their *Indian* Corn, which we left very green, grown already to Maturity; but I have learn'd since, that that Corn is ripe sixty days after it is sown. I observ'd there also another sort of Corn; but for want of understanding their Language, I was not able to know its Use and Name.

CHAP. XL.

An Account of our Departure from Koroa, to continue our Voyage.

I LEFT *Koroa* the next day, *April 5.* with a design to visit several Nations inhabiting the Coast of the *Meschafipi*, but my Men would never consent thereunto, telling me that they had no Business there, and they were oblig'd to make all the haste they could towards the North, to exchange their Commodities for Furs. I told them, that the Publick Good was to be preferr'd to Private Interest; but I could not persuade them to any such thing; and they told me that every one ought to be free; that they were resolv'd to go towards the Source of the River, but that I might remain amongst those Nations, if I thought fit. In short, I found my self oblig'd to submit to [133] their Will, though they had receiv'd Orders to obey my Direction. We arriv'd the 7th in the Habitation of the *Taensa's*, who had already been inform'd of our return from the Sea, and were prepar'd to receive us; having for that end sent for their Allies inhabiting the inland Country to the West-ward of the River. They us'd all possible endeavours to oblige us to remain with them, and offer'd us a great many things; but our Men would not stay one single day; though I confess the Civility of that People, and the good Disposition I observ'd in them, wou'd have

stopp'd me amongst them, had I been provided with things necessary for the Function of my Ministry.

We parted the 8th, and the *Taensa's* follow'd us several Leagues in their lightest *Pyrogues*, but were at last oblig'd to quit us, being not able to keep pace with our Canou. One of our Men shot three Wild-Ducks at once, which they admir'd above all things, it being impossible to do so with their Arrows. We gave them some Tobacco, and parted from them, our Men rowing with all their Strength, to let them see we had kept company with them out of meer Civility.

The 9th, we came to the Place where our Men had hidden their Commodities; but when my Men saw that the Savages had burnt the Trees which we had mark'd, they were so afraid, that they were near founding away, and did not doubt but their Goods were lost. We went a-shoar; and while I was mending our Canou, they went to look for their Treasure, which they found in good condition. They were so transported with Joy, that *Picard* came immediately to tell me that all was well. In the mean time, the *Akanfa's* having receiv'd advice of our Return, came down in great numbers along the River to meet us; and lest they should see our Men taking again their Goods from under the Ground, I advanced to meet them with the *Calumet* of Peace, and [134] stopt them to smook, it being a sacred Law amongst them to smook in such a Juncture; and whosoever would refuse, must run the danger of being murther'd by the Savages, who have an extraordinary Veneration for the *Calumet*.

Whilst I stopt them, my Men put their Commodities into their Canou, and came to take me into it. The Savages saw nothing of it, of which I was very glad; for though they were our own, perhaps they might claim part of them upon some Pretence or other. I made several signs upon the Sand, to make them apprehend what I thought; but with what Success I don't know, for I could not understand a word of what they said, their Language having no affinity with those of their Neighbours I have convers'd withal, both since and after my Voyage to the Mouth of the *Meschasipi*.

I got into the Canou, and went by Water to the Village of the *Akanfa's*, while they went by Land; but our Men row'd so fast, that they could hardly keep pace with us. One of them, who was a good Runner, arriv'd at the Village before us, and came to the Shoar with the Women and Children to receive us, which they did even with more Civility than they had express'd the first time. Our Men suspected that this was only to get our Commodities, which they admir'd; but they are certainly a good sort of People; and instead of deserving the Name of a Barbarous Nation, as the *Europeans* call all the Natives of *America*, I think they have more Humanity than many Natives of *Europe*, who pretend to be very civil and affable to Strangers.

It would be needless to give here an exact Account of the Feasts and Dances that were made for our Entertainment, or of the Melancholy they express'd upon our Departure. I must own, that I had much a-do to leave them, but my two Men would not give me leave to tarry a day, seeing these

Nations, having [135] had no Commerce with the *Europeans*, did not know the Value of Beavers Skins, or other Furs, whereas they thought that the Savages inhabiting about the Source of the *Meschafipi*, might have been inform'd thereof by the Inhabitants of the Banks of the upper or Great Lake, which we found to be true, as we shall observe anon. We left the *Akanfa's* upon the 24th of *April*, having presented them with several little Toys, which they receiv'd with an extraordinary Joy; and during sixty Leagues, saw no Savage neither of the Nation of *Cbikacha*, or *Mefforite*, which made us believe they were gone a hunting with their Families, or else fled away, for fear of the Savages of *Tintonba*, that is to say, such as inhabit the Meadows, who are their irreconcilable Enemies.

This made our Voyage the more easie, for our Men landed several times to kill some Fowl and other Game, with which the Banks of the *Meschafipi* are plentifully stock'd; however, before we came to the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, we discover'd several of the *Mefforites*, who came down all along the River; but as they had no *Pyrogues* with them, we cross'd to the other side; and to avoid any Surprise during the Night, we made no fire; and thereby the Savages could not discover whereabouts we were; for doubtless they would have murder'd us, thinking we were their Enemies.

I had quite forgot to relate, that the *Illinois* had told us, that towards the Cape, which I have call'd in my Map *St. Anthony* near the Nation of the *Mefforites*, there were some

Tritons, and other Sea-Monsters painted, which the boldest Men durst not look upon, there being some Enchantment in their Faces. I thought this was a Story; but when we came near the Place they had mention'd, we saw instead of these Monsters, a Horse and some other Beasts painted upon the Rock with red Colours by the Savages.¹ The *Illinois* had told us likewise, that the Rock on which [136] these dreadful Monsters stood, was so steep that no Man could climb up to it; but had we not been afraid of the Savages more than of the Monsters, we had certainly got up to them. There is a common Tradition amongst that People, That a great number of *Miami's* were drown'd in that Place, being pursu'd by the Savages of *Matigamea*²; and since that time, the Savages going by the Rock, use to smok, and offer Tobacco to those Beasts, to appease, as they say, the *Manitou*, that is, in the Language of the *Algonquins* and *Accadians*,³ an evil Spirit, which the *Iroquesse* call *Otkon*; but the Name is the only thing they know of him.

¹ These painted figures are described by Marquette (*Jes. Relations*, lix, pp. 139, 141; cf. 312), who saw them in 1673. The rock whereon they were depicted was "immediately above the city of Alton, Ill." (Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 59, note 1). Amos Stoddard saw them in 1812; but since then they have been effaced by time.—ED.

² Or Mitchigamia; an Algonquian tribe living near the mouth of St. Francis River, in Arkansas, when visited by Marquette; later, they had migrated toward Kaskaskia, Ill., and were probably absorbed by the Kaskaskia tribe.—ED.

³ Referring to the Abenakis, the most numerous Indian tribe in Maine—a region which was long in dispute between the French and English, as belonging to Acadia, to which both nations laid claim.

Tobacco, as an article highly prized by the Indians, was frequently offered by them to the spirits whom they rudely worshipped, especially to those of the winds and waters.—ED.

While I was at *Quebec*, I understood that M. *Jolliet*¹ had been upon the *Meschasipi*, and oblig'd to return without going down that River, because of the Monsters I have spoken of, who had frighted him, as also because he was afraid to be taken by the *Spaniards*; and having an Opportunity to know the Truth of that Story from M. *Jolliet* himself, with whom I had often travell'd upon the River St. *Lawrence*, I ask'd him whether he had been as far as the *Akanfa's*? That Gentleman answer'd me, That the *Outtaouats* had often spoke to him of those Monsters; but that he had never gone farther than the *Hurons* and *Outtaouats*, with whom we had remain'd to exchange our *European* Commodities with their Furs. He added, that the Savages had told him, that it was not safe to go down the River, because of the *Spaniards*. But notwithstanding this Report, I have found no-where upon that River any Mark, as Crosses, and the like, that could persuade me that the *Spaniards* had been there; and the Savages inhabiting the *Meschasipi* would not have express'd such Admiration as they did when they saw us, if they had seen any *Europeans* before. I'll examine this Question more at large in my Second Volume.

¹ Louis Joliet, of Quebec, was sent by Frontenac to explore the Mississippi River; he was accompanied from Michillimackinac by the Jesuit Marquette. They followed the great river as far as the mouth of the Arkansas; then, fearing capture by the Spaniards, they returned to Michillimackinac. The voyage lasted from May 17 to the end of September in the year 1673.—ED.

[137] CHAP. XLI.

A particular Account of the River Mefchafipi; Of the Country thro' which it flows; and of the Mines of Copper, Lead, and Coals we discover'd in our Voyage.

FROM thirty Leagues below *Maroa*, down to the Sea, the Banks of the *Mefchafipi* are full of Reeds or Canes; but we observ'd about forty places, where one may land with great facility. The River overflows its Banks now and then; but the Inundation is not very confiderable, becaufe of the little Hills which ftop its Waters. The Country beyond thofe Hills is the fineft that ever I faw, it being a Plain, whole Bounds I don't know, adorn'd now and then with fome Hills and Eminences cover'd with fine Trees, making the rareft Proſpect in the World. The Banks of the ſmall Rivers flowing through the Plain, are planted with Trees, which look as if they had been diſpoſed into that curious Order by the Art of Men; and they are plentifully ſtock'd with Fiſh, as well as the *Mefchafipi*. The Crocodiles are very dangerous upon this great River, as I have already obſerv'd; and they devour a Man if they can ſurprize him; but 'tis eaſie to avoid them, for they don't ſwim after Men, nor follow them a-ſhoar.

The Country affords all ſorts of Game, as Turkey-Cocks,

Partridges, Quails, Parrots, Wood-Cocks, Turtle-Doves, and Wood-Pidgeons; and abundance of wild Bulls, wild Goats, Stags, Beavers, Otters, Martins, and wild Cats: But as we approach'd nearer the Sea, we saw no Beavers. I design to give a particular Account of these Creatures in another place; in the mean time we shall take notice of two others, who are unknown in *Europe*.

[138] I have already mention'd a little Animal, like a Musk'd-Rat, that M. *la Salle* kill'd as we came from Fort *Miamis* to the *Illinois*, which deserves a particular Description. It looks like a Rat as to the Shape of its Body, but it is as big as a Cat: His Skin looks Silver-like, with some fair black Hair, which makes the Colour the more admirable. His Tail is without any Hair, as big as a Man's Finger, and about a Foot long, wherewith he hangs himself to the Boughs of Trees. That Creature has under the Belly a kind of a Bag, wherein they put their young ones when they are pursu'd; which is one of the most wonderful things of the World, and a clear Demonstration of the Providence and Goodness of the Almighty, who takes so particular a Care of the meanest of his Creatures.

There is no fierce Beast in all that Country that dares attack Men; for the *Mechibichi*, the most terrible of all, and who devours all other Beasts whatsoever, runs away upon the approach of a Savage. The Head of that Creature is very like that of the spotted Lynx, but somewhat bigger: his Body is long, and as large as a wild Goat, but his Legs are shorter; his Paws are like a Cat's-Foot; but the Claws are

so long and strong, that no other Beast can resist them. When they have kill'd any Beast, they eat part of it, and carry the rest upon their Back, to hide it in the Woods; and I have been told that no other Beast dare meddle with it. Their Skin is much like that of a Lion, as well as their Tail; but their Head is much bigger.¹

The Savages gave us to understand that to the Westward of their Habitation, there are some Beasts who carry Men upon their Backs, and shew'd us the Hoof and part of the Leg of one, which was certainly the Hoof of a Horse; and surely Horses must not be utterly unknown in the Northern *America*: for then how cou'd the Savages have drawn [139] upon the Rock I have mention'd, the Figure of that Animal?

They have in that Country all sorts of Trees we have in *Europe*, and a great many other unknown to us. There are the finest Cedars in the World; and another sort of Tree, from which drops a most fragrant Gum, which in my opinion exceeds our best Perfumes.² The Cotton-Trees are of a prodigious height; the Savages make them hollow with Fire, to make their *Pyroques* of them; and we have seen some of them all of a-piece, above an hundred Foot long. The Oak is so good, that I believe it exceeds ours for building Ships. I have observ'd that Hemp grows naturally in that Country, and that they make Tarr and Pitch toward the Sea-Coasts;

¹ Apparently the panther, or catamount (*Felis concolor*). *Micipici* (*Mechibichi*) is an Algonkin word meaning "great lynx," and is a generic term for all large felines.—ED.

² The sweet-gum tree (*Liquidambar styraciflua*).—ED.

and as I don't question but that there are some Iron-Mines, the Building of Men of War wou'd be very cheap in the River *Meschafipi*.

I took notice in my Description of *Louisiana*, that there are vast Meadows, which need not to be grubb'd up, but are ready for the Plow and Seed; and certainly the Soil must be very fruitful, since Beans grow naturally, without any Culture. Their Stalks subsist several Years, bearing Fruit in the proper Seasons: They are as big as one's Arm, and climb up the highest Trees, just as Ivy does. The Peach-Trees are like ours, and so fruitful, that they wou'd break if they were not supported. Their Forests are full of Mulberry-Trees and Plum-Trees, whose Fruit is bemusk'd. They have also plenty of Pomegranate-Trees and Chestnut-Trees: And 'tis observable, that all these Trees are cover'd with Vines, whose Grapes are very big and sweet.

They have three or four Crops of *Indian Corn* in one Year; for they have no other Winter than some Rains. We had not time enough to look for Mines; but we found in several Places some Pit-Coal; and the Savages shew'd us great Mines of Lead and Copper. [140] They have also Quarries of Freestone; and of black, white, and Jasper-like Marble, of which they make their *Calumets*.

These Savages are good-natur'd Men, affable, civil, and obliging; but I design to make a particular Tract concerning their Manners, in my *Second Volume*. It seems they have no Sentiments of Religion; though one may judge from their

Actions that they have a kind of Veneration for the Sun, which they acknowledge, as it seems, for the Maker and Preserver of all things.

When the *Nadouessians* and *Iffati* take Tobacco, they look upon the Sun, which they call in their Language *Louis*; and as soon as they have lighted their Pipe, they present it to the Sun with these Words, *Tchendiouba Louis*, that is to say, *Smoak Sun*; which I took for a kind of Adoration. I was glad when I heard that this only *Deity* was call'd *Louis*, because it was also my Name.¹ They call the Moon *Louis Basatsche*, that is to say, *The Sun of the Night*; so that the Moon and Sun have the same Name, except that the Moon is distinguish'd by the Word *Basatsche*.

They offer also to the Sun the best Part of the Beast they kill, which they carry to the Cabin of their Chief, who makes his Profit thereof, and mumbles some Words as it raises. They offer also the first Smoak of their *Calumets*, and then blow the Smoak towards the four Corners of the World. This is all I have observ'd concerning their Religion; which makes me believe that they have a religious Veneration for the Sun.

¹The Yankton band of Sioux call the sun *ouuee*, which, it is evident, represents the French pronunciation of *Louis*, omitting the initial letter. This Hennepin would be apt enough to supply, thereby conferring a compliment alike on himself and on Louis XIV, who, to the indignation of his brother monarchs, had chosen the sun as his emblem.—PARKMAN'S *La Salle*, p. 231, note 2.

[141] CHAP. XLII.

An Account of the various Languages of the Nations inhabiting the Banks of the Meschasipi; of their Submission to their Chief; of the Difference of their Manners from the Savages of Canada; and of the Difficulties, or rather Impossibilities attending their Conversion.

'T IS very strange that every Nation of the Savages of the Northern *America* should have a peculiar Language; for though some of them live not ten Leagues one from another, they must use an Interpreter to talk together, there being no universal Language amongst them; as one may call the *Lingua Franca*, which is understood upon all the Coast of the *Mediterranean-Sea*; or the *Latin Tongue*, common to all the Learned Men of *Europe*. However, those who live so near one another, understand some Words us'd amongst their Neighbours, but not well enough to treat together without an Interpreter; and therefore they us'd to send one of their Men to each of their Allies, to learn their Language, and remain with them as their Resident, and take Care of their Concerns.

These Savages differ from those of *Canada* both in their Manners, Customs, Temper, Inclinations, and even in the

Shape of their Heads; those of the *Meschafipi* having their Heads very flat. They have large Places in their Villages, where they meet together upon any publick Rejoicings; and where they have publick Games at certain Seasons of the Year. They are lively and active, having nothing of that Morosity and Pensiveness of the *Iroquese* and others. Their Chiefs have a more absolute Authority than those of the other Savages, which Power is very narrow; and those who live the nearest to the Mouth of the River, have such a Deference for their [142] Chief, that they dare not pass between him and a Flambeau, which is always carry'd before him in all Ceremonies. These Chiefs have Servants and Officers to wait upon them: They distribute Rewards and Presents as they think fit. In short, they have amongst them a Form of Political Government; and I must own they make a tolerable use of their Reason.

They were altogether ignorant of Fire-Arms, and all other Instruments and Tools of Iron and Steel, their Knives and Axes being made of Flint, and other sharp Stones: And whereas we were told that the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* liv'd not above forty Leagues from them, and supply'd them with all the Tools, and other Commodities of *Europe*; we found nothing among them that might be suspected to come from the *Europeans*, unless it be some little pieces of Glass strung upon a Thread, with which their Women use to adorn their Heads. They wear Bracelets and Ear-Rings of fine Pearls, which they spoil, having nothing to boar them with, but with

Fire. They made us to understand that they have them in exchange for their *Calumets*, from some Nations inhabiting the Coast of the great Lake to the South-ward, which I take to be the *Gulph of Florida*.

I'll say nothing here, or at least very little, concerning their Conversion, reserving to discourse fully upon that Subject, in another *Volume*, wherein I promise my self to undeceive many People about the false Opinions they entertain on this Matter. Where-ever the Apostles appear'd, they converted so great a number of People, that the Gospel was known and believ'd in a short time, thro' most part of the then known World. But our Modern Missions are not attended with that Grace and Power, and therefore we are not to expect those miraculous Conversions. I have imparted to them, as well as I cou'd, the chief and general Truths of the *Christian Religion*: But, as [143] I have observ'd already, the Languages of those Nations having little or no Affinity one with another, I cannot say that my Endeavours have been very successful, tho' I learn'd the Language of the *Iffati* or *Nadouffians*, and understood indifferently well that of the *Illinois*: But the Truths of Christianity are so sublime, that I fear, neither my Words nor Signs and Actions have been able to give them an Idea of what I preach'd unto them. GOD alone, who knows the Hearts of Men, knows also what Success my Endeavours have had. The Baptism I have administer'd to several Children, of whose Death I was morally assur'd, is the only certain Fruit of my Mission. But

after all, I have only discover'd the Way for other Missionaries, and shall be ready at all times to return thither, thinking my self very happy if I can spend the rest of my Days in endeavouring my own and other Mens Salvation; and especially in favour of those poor Nations, who have been hitherto ignorant of their Creator and Redeemer. But lest I shou'd tire the Reader, I reassume the Thread of my Discourse.

CHAP. XLIII.

An Account of the Fishery of the Sturgeons; and of the Course we took, for fear of meeting some of our Men from Fort Crevecœur.

WE embarqu'd the Twenty fourth of *April*, as I have already said; and our Provisions being spent some Days after, we had nothing to live upon, but the Game we kill'd, or the Fish we cou'd catch. Stags, wild Goats, and even wild Bulls are pretty scarce toward the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*; for this Nation comes as far as the *Meschasipi* to hunt them; but by good chance we found a great quantity [144] of Sturgeons, with *long Bills*, as we call'd them, from the shape of their Head.¹ It was then the Season that these Fishes spawn; and they come as near the Shore as they can; so that we kill'd as many as we wou'd with our Axes and Swords, without spending our Powder and Shot. They were so numerous, that we took nothing but the Belly, and other dainty Parts, throwing off the rest.

As we came near the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, my Men begun to be very afraid to meet with their Comrades of Fort *Crevecœur*; for having not yet exchange'd their Commodities, as they were order'd, and refus'd to go North-

¹ Probably the spade-fish (*Polyodon spatula*), described more fully by Marquette (*Jes. Relations*, lix, p. 111); and by Le Page du Pratz (*Hist. Louisiane*, ii, p. 154; see illustration at p. 152).—ED.

ward at first, as I desir'd them, they had great reason to fear that they wou'd stop them, and punish them for not having follow'd my Directions. I was likewise afraid that by these Means our Voyage towards the Sea wou'd be discover'd, (there being some Reasons to keep it secret, as I shall observe in another place) and our farther Discovery stop't; and therefore to prevent any such thing, I advis'd them to row all the Night, and to rest our selves during the Day in the Islands, which are so numerous in that River. The Trees and Vines wherewith those Islands are cover'd, are so thick, that one can hardly land; and so we might lie there very safe, it being impossible to discover us. This Advice was approv'd, and thereby we avoided any Rencontre; for I did not doubt but our Men came now and then from Fort *Crevecaur*, to observe the *Meschasipi*, and get Intelligence of us. But when we found our selves pretty far from the River of the *Illinois*, we travell'd in the Day-time, as we used to do, in order to make our Observations, and view the Country; which does not appear so fertil, nor cover'd with so fine Trees above the River of the *Illinois*, as it is below, down the *Meschasipi* to the Sea.

[145] CHAP. XLIV.

A short Account of the Rivers that fall into the Meschafipi; of the Lake of Tears; of the Fall of St. Anthony; of the wild Oats of that Country; and several other Circumstances of our Voyage.

NO Rivers, as I have already said, run into the *Meschafipi* between the River of the *Illinois* and the Fall of *St. Anthony*, from the Westward, but the River *Ottenta*, and another which discharges it self into it within eight Leagues of the said Fall: But on the Eastward we met with a pretty large River, call'd *Ouisconsin*, or *Misconsin* [*Wisconsin*], which comes from the Northward. This River is near as large as that of the *Illinois*; but I cannot give an exact Account of the length of its Course, for we left it about sixty Leagues from its Mouth, to make a *Portage* into another River, which runs into the Bay of *Puans*, as I shall observe when I come to speak of our return from *Iffati* into *Canada*. This River *Ouisconsin* runs into the *Meschafipi* about an hundred Leagues above that of the *Illinois*.

Within five and twenty Leagues after, we met another River coming from the Eastward, nam'd by the *Iffati* and *Nadouffians*, *Chebadeba*, that is, *The Black River*. I can say very little of it, having observ'd only its Mouth; but I judge

from that, that it is not very confiderable. About thirty Leagues higher we found the Lake of *Tears*, which we nam'd fo becaufe the Savages, who took us, as it will be hereafter related, confulted in this Place what they fhould do with their Prifoners; and thofe who were for murthering us, cry'd all the Night upon us, to oblige, by their Tears, their Companions to confent to our Death. This Lake is form'd by the *Mefchafipi*, and may be [146] feven Leagues long, and five broad. Its Waters are almoft ftagnant, the Stream being hardly perceptible in the middle.¹ We met, within a League above the Lake, another River, call'd, *The River of the Wild Bulls*,² becaufe of the great number of thofe Beasts grazing upon its Banks. It falls with a great rapidity into the *Mefchafipi*; but fome Leagues above its Mouth, the Stream is very gentle and moderate. There is an infinite number of large Tortoifes in that River, which are very relifhing. A Row of Mountains fence its Banks in fome places.

There is another River, which falls forty Leagues above this laft, into the *Mefchafipi*; thro' which one may go into the Upper Lake, by making a *Portage* from it into the River *Niffipikouet*, which runs into the fame Lake.³ It is full of Rocks and rapid Streams. We nam'd it *The River of the Grave*, or *Maufolæum*, becaufe the Savages bury'd there one of their Men, who was bitten by a Rattle-Snake. They us'd

¹ Lake Pepin, lying between Wisconsin and Minnesota.—ED.

² The present Buffalo River, Wisconsin.—ED.

³ Apparently the St. Croix and Bois Brulé Rivers, long an important fur-trade route between the Mississippi and Lake Superior.—ED.

great Ceremonies in his Funeral, which I shall describe in another place; and I put upon his Corps a white Covering; for which the Savages return'd me their publick Thanks, and made a great Feast, to which above an hundred Men were invited.

The Navigation of the *Meschafipi* is interrupted ten Leagues above this River of the *Grave*, by a Fall of fifty or sixty Foot, which we call'd *The Fall of St. Anthony of Padua*, whom we had taken for the Protector of our Discovery. There is a Rock of a Pyramidal Figure, just in the middle of the Fall of the River.

The Row of Mountains fencing the Banks of the *Meschafipi*, ends at the Mouth of the River of *Ouisconsin*; and there we likewise observ'd, that that River, which runs from thence to the Sea almost directly North and South, runs then from the Westward or the North-West. The Misfortune we had of being taken Prisoners, hindred us from going as far as its [147] Source, which we cou'd never learn from the Savages, who told us only, that about twenty or thirty Leagues above the Fall of *St. Anthony*, there is another Fall; near which a Nation of Savages inhabit at certain Seasons of the Year. They call those Nations *Tintonba*, that is, *The Inhabitants of the Meadows*.

Eight Leagues above the Fall of *St. Anthony*, we met with the River of the *Iffati* or *Nadoussians*, which is very narrow at the Mouth. It comes out from the Lake of the *Iffati*, lying about seventy Leagues from its Mouth. We call'd this

River *The River of St. Francis*¹; and it was in this Place that we were made Slaves by the *Iffati*.

The Course of the *Meschafipi*, according to our best Computation, is about Eight hundred Leagues long, from *Tintonba* to the Sea, including its Windings and Turnings; which are very great, and may be navigable from the Fall of *St. Anthony*, for flat-bottom'd Boats, provided the Islands were clear'd from Trees, and especially from Vines; which having ty'd the Trees together, wou'd stop a Boat in many Places.

The Country about the Lake *Iffati* is a Marshy Ground, wherein grows abundance of wild Oats, which grow without any Culture or Sowing, in Lakes, provided they are not above three Foot deep. That Corn is somewhat like our Oats, but much better; and its Stalks are a great deal longer when it is ripe.² The Savages gather it, and live thereupon several Months of the Year, making a kind of Broath thereof. The Savage Women are oblig'd to tie several Stalks together with White Bark of Trees, to fright away the Ducks, Teals, or Swans, which otherwise wou'd spoil it before it be ripe.

This Lake of *Iffati* lies within sixty Leagues to the Westward of the Upper Lake; but 'tis impossible to travel by Land from one to the other, unless it be in [148] a hard Frost, because of the Marshy Grounds, which otherwise sink under a Man; but, as I have already said, they may use their

¹ Rum River, the outlet of the lake known as Mille Lacs.—ED.

² The wild rice, *Zizania aquatica*. For full information regarding this grain and its use as food, see A. E. Jenks's excellent monograph, "Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," in 19th *Annual Report* of U. S. Bureau of Ethnology.—ED.

Canou's, tho' it be very troublefom, because of the many *Portages*, and the length of the Way, which, by Reason of the Windings of the River, is about a hundred and fifty Leagues. The shortest way is by the River of the *Grave* [St. Croix], thro' which we went in our return. We found nothing but the Bones of the Savage we had bury'd there, the Bears having pull'd out with their Paws the great Stakes the Savages had beat deep into the Ground round about the Corps; which is their usual Way of Burying their Dead. We found near the Grave a *Calumet* or Pipe of War, and a Pot, in which the Savages had left some fat Meat of Wild Bulls, for the Use of their dead Friend, during his Voyage into the Country of *Souls*; which sheweth that they believe their Immortality.

There are many other Lakes near the River *Iffati*, from which several Rivers spring. The Banks of those Rivers are inhabited by the *Iffati*, the *Nadouffians*, the *Tintonba* or *Inhabitants of Meadows*, the *Ouadebaton* or *Men of Rivers*, the *Chongasketon* or *Nation of the Wolf or the Dog*, for *Chonga* signifies either of these Creatures. There are also several other Nations, which we include under the general Denomination of *Nadouffians*.¹ These Savages may bring into the

¹ For information regarding the history, organization, customs, and present status of the Siouan tribes, see the *Reports* of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, especially that for 1885-86 (Powell's "Indian Linguistic Families"), and for 1893-94 (McGee's "Siouan Indians," and Dorsey's "Siouan Sociology"); Riggs's "Dakota Grammar," etc., vol. ix of *U. S. Geog. and Geol. Survey of Rocky Mountain Region* (Washington, 1893); and Neill's *Hist. Minnesota, and Dakotah Land* (Phila., 1859).—ED.

Field eight or nine thousand Men: They are Brave, Bold, great Runners, and good Marksmen with their Arrows. It was a Party of these Savages that took us Prisoners, and carry'd us to the *Iffati*, as I am going to relate in the following Chapter.

[149] CHAP. XLV.

The Author and his Canou-Men are taken by the Savages, who, after several Attempts upon their Lives, carry them away with them into their Country above the River Meschafipi.

WE used to go to Prayers thrice a Day, as I have elsewhere observ'd; and my constant Request to God was, That when we shou'd first meet the Savages, it might happen to be by Day. Their Custom is, to kill as Enemies all they meet by Night, to enrich themselves with their Spoils, which are nothing but a parcel of Hatchets, Knives, and such like Trifles; which yet they value more than we do Gold or Silver. They make no scruple to assassinate even their own Allies, when they think they can handsomly conceal the Murder; for by such Exploits it is they hope to gain the Reputation of being great Soldiers, and to pass for Men of Courage and Resolution.

'Twas with a great deal of Satisfaction that we survey'd the Pleasures of the River *Meschafipi*, all along our Passage up it, which had been since the first of *April*. Nothing as yet had interrupted our Observations, whether it were navigable above or below. In our way we kill'd seven or eight Bustards or Wild Turkeys, which in these Countries encrease mightily, as well as all other Wild Creatures. We had also

plenty of Bulls, Deers, Castors [Beavers], Fish, and Bears Flesh; which last we kill'd as they were swimming over the River.

And here I cannot forbear seriously reflecting on that secret Pleasure and Satisfaction of Mind, which is to be found in Prayer, and the real Advantages which may be drawn from thence, when I consider how [150] effectually my own were heard: For the same Day, being the Twelfth of *April*, as our two Men were boiling one of the Bustards, and my self refitting our Canou on the Banks of the River, I perceiv'd all of a sudden, about Two in the Afternoon, no less than fifty Canou's, which were made of Bark, and mann'd with a hundred and twenty Savages, who were stark naked, and came down the River with an extraordinary Swiftnefs, to surprize the *Miami's*, *Illinois*, and *Marobans* [Tamaroas], their Enemies.

We threw away the Broath which was a preparing, and getting aboard as fast as we cou'd, made towards them, crying out thrice, *Mistigouche* and *Diatchez*, which in the Language of the *Iroquese* and *Algonquins*, is as much as to say, *Comrades, we are Men of Wooden Canou's*; for so they call those that sail in great Vessels. This had no effect, for the Barbarians understood not what we said; so that they surrounded us immediately, and began to let fly their Arrows at a distance, till the Eldest amongst them perceiving that I had a *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace in my hand, came up to us, and prevented our being murdered by their Warriours.

These Men who are more brutal than those of the lower

River, fell a jumping out of their Canou's, some upon Land, others into the Water; furrounding us on all Sides with Shrieks and Out-cries that were indeed very terrifying. 'Twas to no purpose to resist, being but three to so great a number. One of them snatch'd the Pipe of Peace out of my Hand, as our Canou and theirs were fastned together on the Bank of the River. We presented them with some small Pieces of *Martinico* Tobacco, because it was better than what they had. As they receiv'd it, the Elders of them cry'd out *Miabima, Miabima*; but what they meant by it, we knew not. However, we made Signs with our Oars upon the Sand, that the *Miami's* their Enemies, whom they were in search of, had [151] pass'd the River, and were upon their Flight to join the *Illinois*.

When they saw themselves discover'd, and consequently out of all hopes of surprizing their Enemies, three or four of the eldest of them laid their hands on my Head, and began to weep bitterly, accompanying their Tears with such mournful Accents as can hardly be express'd; till with a sorry Handkerchief of *Armenian* Cloth, which I had left, I made a Shift to dry up their Tears: However, to very little purpose; for refusing to smook in our *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace, they thereby gave us to understand, that their design was still to murder us. Hereupon with an horrid Out-cry, which they set up all at once, to make it yet the more terrible, they hurry'd us cross the River, forcing us to redouble the Stroaks of our Oar, to make the more speed; and entertaining us all the while with such dismal Howlings, as were

capable of striking Terrour into the most resolute and daring Souls. Being come a-shoar on the other side, we unloaded our Canou, and landed our Things, part of which they had robb'd us of already. Some time after our Landing, we made a fire a second time, to make an end of boiling our Bustard. Two others we presented the Barbarians, who having consulted together what they should do with us, two of their Leaders came up to us, and made us to understand by Signs, that their Warriours were resolv'd upon our Death. This oblig'd me, whilst one of our Canou-Men look'd after our Things, to go with the other, and apply my self to their Chiefs. Six Hatchets, fifteen Knives, some pieces of Tobacco, was the Present that I made them. After which, bending my Neck, and pointing to a Hatchet, I signifi'd to them by that Submission, that we threw our selves on their Mercy.

The Present had the good effect to soften some of them, who, according to their Custom, gave us [152] some Flesh of Beaver to eat, themselves putting the three first Bits in our Mouths; having first blown upon it, because the Meat was hot. After this they set their Platter before us, which was made of the Bark of a Tree, leaving us at liberty to feed after our own fashion. These Civilities did not hinder us from passing the Night very uneasily, because in the Evening before they went to sleep, they had return'd us our *Calumet* of Peace. The two Canou-Men resolv'd to sell their Lives as dear as they could, and to defend themselves like Men to the last, in case they shou'd attack us. For my part, I told

them I resolv'd to suffer my self to be slain without the least Resistance, in Imitation of our Saviour, who resign'd himself up voluntarily into the hand of his Executioner. However, we watch'd all Night by turns, that we might not be surpriz'd in our Sleep.

CHAP. XLVI.

The Resolution which the Barbarians took to carry the Author and his two Men along with them up into their Country, above the River Meschafipi.

THE 13th of *April*, very early in the Morning, one of their Captains, whose Name was *Narrbetoba*, being one of those who had been for killing us, and whose Body was painted all over, came and demanded my Pipe of Peace. It being deliver'd him, he fill'd it with Tobacco of their own growth, and made those of his own Band smoak in it first; then all the rest that had been for putting us to death. After this he made Signs, that we must go with them into their Country, whither they were then about to return. This Proposal did not startle me much, for having caus'd the Enterprize which they had [153] fram'd against their Enemies to miscarry, I was not unwilling to embrace any opportunity of making farther Discoveries amongst these barbarous Nations.

That which perplex'd me most, was the Difficulty I had of saying my Office, and performing the rest of my Devotions, in the presence of these Wretches. Many of them observing my Lips to move, told me in a harsh and severe Tone, *Ouackanche*; from whence, because we understood not a word of their Language, we concluded them to be very angry.

Michael Ako, one of the Canou-Men, told me with a frightful Air, that if I continu'd to say my Breviary, we should infallibly be murther'd by them. *Picard du Gay* desir'd me at least to say my Prayers in private, for fear of enraging them too far. The last Advice seem'd the best; but the more I endeavour'd to conceal my self, the more of them had I at my Heels. If at any time I retir'd into the Woods, they immediately concluded 'twas to hide something: So that I knew not which way to turn me for the performance of my Duty; for they would never suffer me a moment out of their Sight.

This compell'd me at last to acquaint the two Canou-Men, that I cou'd no longer dispense with my self in omitting the Duty of my Office: That if they shou'd murder us on this Account, I shou'd indeed be the innocent Cause of their Death as well as my own; that therefore I ran the same Risque as they, but that no Danger was great enough to justify me in the dispensing with my Duty. In fine, the Barbarians understood by the Word *Ouackanche*, that the Book in which I read, was an evil Spirit, as I afterwards understood by being amongst them. However, I then knew by their Gestures, that they had an aversion for it. Wherefore to use them to it by degrees, I was wont to sing the Litanies, as we were upon the Way, holding the Book in my Hand. They [154] fondly believ'd my Breviary was a Spirit, which taught me to sing thus for their Diversion. All these People naturally love Singing.

CHAP. XLVII.

The many Outrages done us by the Savages, before we arriv'd in their Country. They frequently design against our Lives.

THE many Outrages which were done us by these Barbarians, through the whole Course of our Voyage, are not to be imagin'd. Our Canou was both bigger and heavier laden than theirs. They seldom carry any thing but a Quiver full of Arrows, a Bow, and some sorry Skin or other, which usually serves two of them for a Coverlet. The Nights were sharp as yet for the Season, by reason of our advancing still Northwards; so that at Night 'twas necessary to keep our selves as warm as we could.

Our Conductors observing that we did not make so much way as themselves, order'd three of their Warriours to go aboard us. One seated himself on my Left, the other two behind the Men, to help them to row, that we might make the more haste. The Barbarians sometimes row no less than thirty Leagues a day, when they are in haste to take the Field, and design to surprize their Enemies. Those who took us were of divers Villages, and as much divided in their Sentiments, in regard of us. Every Evening 'twas our peculiar Care to plant our Cabin near the young Chief, who had

taken Tobacco in our Pipe of Peace; signifying to him thereby, that we put our selves under his Protection.

This we did, by reason of the Divisions which reign'd amongst the Savages. *Aquipaguetin*, one of their Chiefs, who had a Son kill'd by the *Miami's*, [155] finding he could not revenge himself of that Nation, thought of venting his Passion upon us. Every Night would he bewail his Son, whom he had lost in the War, thinking thereby to stir up those of his Band to revenge his Death, by killing us, seizing our Effects, and after that pursuing the *Miami's*. But the other Savages, who were very fond of *European* Commodities, thought it more adviseable to protect us, that other *Europeans* might be encourag'd to come amongst them. They chiefly desir'd Guns, upon which they set the highest Value, having seen the use of them upon one of our Canou-Men's killing three or four Bustards or wild Turkeys, at one single Discharge of his Fusil; whereas they could not kill above one at a time with their Bows.

We have understood by them since, that the Words *Manza Ouackanche* signifie *Iron possess'd by an Evil Spirit*. So they call the Fusil, which breaks a Man's Bones; whereas their Arrows glide only between the Flesh and the Muscles, which they pierce without breaking the Bone at all, or very seldom at least. For which reason it is, that these People do much easier cure the Wounds which are made by the Arrow or Dart, than those of the Fusil.

When we were first taken by the Barbarians, we were got about an hundred and fifty Leagues up the River, from that

of the *Illinois*. We row'd afterwards in their Company for nineteen Days together, sometimes North, sometimes North-East, as we judg'd by the Quarters from whence the Wind blew, and according to the best Observations we cou'd make by our Compaſs. So that after theſe Barbarians had forc'd us to follow them, we made more than two hundred and fifty Leagues upon that ſame River. The Savages are of an extraordinary Force in a Canou. They'll row from Morning to Night without reſting, or hardly allowing themſelves ſo much time as to eat their Victuals.

[156] To oblige us to follow them the faſter, there were uſually four or five of their Men a-board us; for our Canou was larger, and deeper loaden than theirs, ſo that we had need of their Aſſiſtance, to be able to keep 'em company. When it rain'd, we ſet up our Tilts; but when 'twas fair, the Heavens were our Canopy. By this means we had leiſure to take our Obſervations from the Moon and the Stars when it was clear. Notwithſtanding the fatigue of the Day, the youngſt of the Warriours went at Night and danc'd the *Reed*¹ before four or five of their Captains till Midnight. The Captain to whoſe Quarter they went, ſent with a deal of Ceremony to thoſe that danc'd, a Warriour of his own Family, to make them ſmoak one after another in his own *Reed* of War, which is diſtinguiſh'd from that of Peace by its Feathers.

This ſort of Ceremony is always concluded by the two

¹ Calumet (reed) dance. Thus termed becauſe the ſtem of the pipe, or calumet, was made from a hollow reed.—ED.

Youngest of those who have had any Relations kill'd in the Wars. These take several Arrows, and laying them a-crofs at the point, present them in that manner to their Captains, weeping very bitterly; who, notwithstanding the excess of their Sorrow, return them back to be kifs'd. In short, neither the Fatigues of the Day, nor Watchings, are sufficient to prevail with the Elders so much as to shut their Eyes, most of them watching till almost Break of Day, for fear of being surpriz'd by their Enemies. As soon as the Morning appears, one of them sets up the ordinary Cry, when in a moment the Warriours are all in their Canou's. Some are sent to encompass the Islands, and to see what Game they can meet with; whilst others that are more swift, go by Land to discover by the Smoak the Place where the Enemies lie.

[157] CHAP. XLVIII.

The Advantages which the Savages of the North have over those of the South, in relation to the War: As also the Ceremony which was perform'd by one of our Captains, having caus'd us to halt at Noon.

WHEN the Savages of the North are at War, 'tis their Custom to post themselves upon the point of some one of those many Islands, of which this River is full, where they look upon themselves to be always safe. Those of the South, who are their Enemies, having nothing but *Pyrogues*, or Canou's of Wood, with which they cannot go very fast, because of their weight. None but the Northern Nations have Birch to make Canou's of their Bark. The People of the South are depriv'd of this Advantage, whereas those of the North can with an admirable facility pass from Lake to Lake, and River to River, to attack their Enemy. Nay, when they are discover'd, they value it not, provided they have time to recover their Canou's; for 'tis impossible for those who pursue them either by Land, or in the *Pyrogues*, to do it with any Success.

As to what relates to Ambuscades, no Nation in the World comes near those Northern Savages, being patient of Hunger, and the utmost Severities of the Weather, beyond

belief. 'Tis their sure Game; and they never fail being succour'd by three or four of their Comrades, whenever their Enemies attack 'em. So that they always bring their Designs about this way, at least, if not over power'd so by Numbers, as not to be able to recover their Canou's, and save themselves by flight.

One of the nineteen Days of our most tiresome Voyage, a Captain call'd *Aquipaguetin*, who afterwards [158] adopted me for his Son, as we shall see anon, thought it advisable to halt about Noon in a fine large Meadow, situate on the West of the River *Meschaspi*. This Chief had kill'd a large fat Bear, to which he invited the principal Captains of the Warriours. After the Repast, these Savages having all of them certain Marks in the Face, and their Bodies painted with the Figure of some Beast, such as every one fancy'd best, their Hair being also anointed with the Oil of Bears, and stuck all over with red and white Feathers, and their Heads cover'd with the Down of Birds, began to dance with their Hands all upon their Hip, and striking the Soles of their Feet with that violence against the Earth, that the very Marks appear'd. During the Dance, one of the Sons of the Master of the Ceremonies, made 'em all smoak in the Pipe of War, himself shedding abundance of Tears during the whole Action. And the Father, who marshall'd the whole melancholy Scene, accompany'd him with a Voice so lamentable and broken, with so many rising Sighs, as were capable of melting the most obdurate Heart, bathing himself all the while in his Tears: Sometimes would he address himself to

the Warriour, sometimes to me, laying his Hands on my Head, as he did also on my Mens. Sometimes would he lift up his Eyes to Heaven, repeating the Word *Louis*, which in their Speech signifies the Sun, appealing to him for Justice on the Murderers of his Son, and hoping to engage his Followers to avenge his Death.

As for us, as far as we could judge, all this Grimace boded us no good: And indeed we afterwards understood, that this Barbarian meant nothing less than our Destruction by it, as well now as at other times. But finding the opposition he was like to meet with from the other Chiefs, who were of a contrary Opinion, he was content to suffer us to re-embark, resolving however to make use of some other [159] Stratagem to get into his own Hands by little and little the rest of our Things. To take them from us openly by force, tho' he easily could, he durst not, for fear of those of his own Nation, who for such an Action would have accus'd him of a Baseness of Spirit, which even the most barbarous disdain.

CHAP. XLIX.

What Tricks and Artifices were us'd by Aquipaguetin to cheat us handsomely of our Goods; with many other Accidents that hapned in our Voyage.

BY what has been said, it plainly appears that *Aquipaguetin* was a crafty designing Knave. He had with him the Bones of one of his deceas'd Friends, which he kept very choicely in the Skin of a Beast, adorn'd with several red and black Lifts of a Porcupine's. He would be from time to time assembling his Followers to make them smoak; and then would he send for us one after another, and oblige us to cover the Bones of their Deceas'd with some of our *European* Merchandise, in order to dry up the Tears which he had shed for him and his Son, who had been kill'd by the *Miami's*.

To appease the crafty old Savage, we strew'd on the Bones of the Deceas'd several Pieces of *Martinico*-Tobacco, Hatchets, Knives, Beads, and some Bracelets of black and white Porcelain. Thus you see how we were drain'd by such Methods and Pretences, as we could not easily gainfay. He gave us to understand, That what he had thus demanded of us, was not for himself but the Dead, and to give the Warriours that he brought with him; and indeed he distributed amongst them whatever he took from us. He would have

had us understood by this, That [160] as a Captain he would take nothing himself but what we should freely present him with.

All this while we lay at the point of the *Lake of Tears*; we nam'd it so by reason of the Tears which this Chief did shed here every Night. When he was weary of Weeping, he made one of his Sons come and supply his Place. His Design in this was to excite the Compassion of the Warriors, and to prevail with them to kill us, and after that to pursue their Enemies; and so revenge the Death of his Son which he had lost.

Sometimes they sent the swiftest amongst them by Land to seek for prey, who would drive whole Drovers of wild Bulls before them, and force them to swim the River. Of these they sometimes kill'd forty or fifty, but took only the Tongues, and some other of the best Pieces: The rest they left, not to burden themselves, that they might make the more haste home.

'Tis true, we had Provisions plenty and good; but then we had neither Bread nor Wine, nor Salt, nor indeed any thing else to season it; and this lasted during the Four last Years of the almost Twelve that I liv'd in *America*. In our last Voyage, we liv'd much after the same manner, sometimes abounding, and at other times again reduc'd to the last Extremity; so that we have not eat a bit for four and twenty hours together, and sometimes longer. The reason is, because in small Canou's of Bark, one can stow but little: So that whatever Precaution a Man may use, he will often find himself

destitute of all things necessary for Life. Did the Religious of *Europe* undergo half the Fatigues, or did they but observe the Fasts that we have kept for so long a time together in *America*, there would need no Proofs to Canonize them. But then it must be own'd, that what destroys the Merits of our Fasts, was, that if we did suffer on such occasions, our Sufferings proceeded [161] not from our Choice; but, as the proverbial Saying is, our Virtue was our Necessity.

CHAP. L.

The Elders weep for us during the Night. New Outrages done us by Aquipaguetin. The manner how the Savages make Fire by Friction.

MANY Nights together some or other of the Elders came and wept over us. They rubb'd our Arms and Bodies very often with their Hands, which they afterwards laid on our Heads. These Tears gave us many uneasie Thoughts; 'twas impossible to sleep for them; and yet we had need enough of Rest, after the great Fatigues of the Day. Nor was I easier by Day: I knew not what to think; sometimes I fancied that they bewail'd us, as knowing some of the Warriors had resolv'd to kill us; and other times again I flatter'd my self, that their Tears were the effect of their Compassion, for the evil Treatment they made us undergo. However it were, I am sure these Tears affected me more than those that shed them.

About this time, *Aquipaguetin* had another opportunity of persecuting us afresh: He had so dexterously manag'd the Matter with the Warriors of his Party, that it was one Day impracticable for us to encamp near the young Chief *Narbetoba*, who protected us, but were forc'd to go and place

our selves, with our Canou and Effects at the end of the Camp. Then it was that these Barbarians gave us to understand, that the aforefaid Captain was fully resolv'd to have our Heads. This oblig'd us to have recourse once more to our Chest, and to take out twenty Knives and some Tobacco, which we distributed among [162] them with an Air that sufficiently testify'd our Discontent.

The unreasonable Wretch look'd earnestly upon his Followers one after another, as if he were in doubt what to do, and consequently to demand their Advice, whether he ought to receive our Present or refuse it. But whilst we were inclining our Necks, and delivering him the Ax, the young Commander, who seem'd to be our Protector (and it may be really was) came and snatch'd us by the Arm, and all in a rage hurry'd us away to his Cabin. His Brother too taking up some Arrows, broke 'em in our fight, to assure us by that Action, that he would protect our Lives at the hazard of his own.

The next Day they left us alone in our Canou, without putting any of their Men a-board to assist us, as they had hitherto done: However, they kept all in the rear of us. After rowing four or five Leagues, another of their Captains came up to us, and made us land. As soon as we got on shoar, he fell to cutting of Grasse, which he made into three little Heaps, and bade us sit down upon them: Then he took a piece of Cedar, which was full of little round Holes, into one of which he thrust a Stick of a harder Substance than the

Cedar, and began to rub it about pretty fast between the Palms of his Hands, till at length it took fire.¹ The use he put it to was to light the Tobacco in his great Pipe; and after he had wept some time over us, and laid his Hands on our Heads, he made me smoak in a *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace; and then acquainted us by Signs,² that within sixteen Days we should be at home.

¹ This method of making fire was used by many other tribes, notably the Huron; the Eastern Algonquian peoples generally employed stones containing iron (usually found in the form of iron pyrites),—a method still in use among some Eskimo tribes,—often with flint. The appliances introduced by white men—the flint and steel, with tinder-box, and the matches—soon superseded the primitive aboriginal methods. For detailed account of these, see Hough's "Fire-making Apparatus," in U. S. National Museum *Report*, 1887-88, pp. 531-587. Cf. *Jes. Relations*, vi, p. 217; xii, 117, 272; xxii, 267, 319.—ED.

² See Garrick Mallery's "Sign Language among North American Indians," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1879-80, pp. 263-552.—ED.

[163] CHAP. LI.

*Ceremonies us'd by the Savages when they share their Prisoners.
Continuation of our Journey by Land.*

HAVING thus travell'd nineteen Days in our Canou by Water, we arriv'd at length within five or six Leagues of the Fall, to which we had formerly given the Name of *St. Anthony*, as we came to understand afterwards. Here the Barbarians order'd us to land in a Creek of the River *Mefchafipi*; after which, they held an Assembly, to consult what they were to do with us. In short, they separated, and gave us to three of their Chiefs, instead of three of their Sons which had been kill'd in the War: Then they seiz'd our Canou, and took away all our Equipage. The Canou they pull'd to pieces, for fear it might assist us to return to their Enemies: Their own they hid amongst the Alders, to use again when they should have occasion to hunt that way. So that tho' we might have gone conveniently enough quite up into their Country by Water, yet were we oblig'd, by their Conduct, to travel no less than sixty Leagues a-foot.

Our ordinary Marches were from break of Day till ten at Night: And when we met with any Rivers, we swam them, themselves (who for the Most part are of an extraordinary size) carrying our Clothes and Equipage on their Heads,

and the Canou-Men, who were less than me, upon their Shoulders, because they could not swim. As I us'd to come out of the Water, which was often full of Ice, for we travell'd still North, I was hardly able to stand upon my Legs. In these Parts the Frosts continue all Night even at this time of the Year; so [164] that our Legs were all over Blood, being cut by the Ice, which we broke by degrees in our Passage as we waded o'er the Lakes and Rivers. We never eat but once in four and twenty Hours, and then nothing but a few Scraps of Meat dry'd in Smoak after their Fashion, which they afforded us with abundance of regret.

I was so weak that I often laid me down, resolving rather to die than follow these Savages any farther, who travell'd at a rate so extraordinary, as far surpasses the Strength of any *European*. However, to hasten us, they sometimes set fire to the dry Grass in the Meadows through which we pass'd; so that our Choice was march or burn. I had a Hat which I had taken with me, to fence me from the Sun during the Heats of the Summer. This would often fall from my Head into the Fire, because it was not over-fit, and the Fire so very near. The Barbarians would snatch it out again, and lend me a hand to save me from the Flames, which they had kindled, as well as to hasten our March, as I have said, as to give notice to their People of their return. I must here acknowledge, that had it not been for *du Gay*, who did all he could to encourage me, through the whole Course of this tiresome March, I had certainly sunk under the Fatigues of it, having neither Spirits nor Strength left to support me.

[165] CHAP. LII.

A great Contest arises amongst the Savages, about dividing our Merchandise and Equipage; as also my Sacerdotal Ornaments and little Chest.

AFTER having travell'd about sixty Leagues a-foot, and undergone all the Fatigues of Hunger, Thirst, and Cold, besides a thousand Outrages daily done us in our Persons, after we had march'd Night and Day without ceasing, wading through Lakes and Rivers, and sometimes swam. As we now began to approach the Habitations of the Barbarians, which are situated in Morasses inaccessible to their Enemies, they thought it a proper time to divide the Merchandise which they had taken from us. Here they had like to have fallen out and cut one another's Throats, about the Roll of *Martinico*-Tobacco, which might still weigh about fifty Pound. These People value this Commodity far beyond what we do Silver or Gold. They have very good of their own growth; but this was so well drefs'd, and made up into such beautiful Rings, that they were perfectly charm'd with it. The most reasonable amongst them made us understand by Signs, that they would give their [*sc.* our] Canou-Men several Castor-Skins in return for what they had taken: But others looking upon us as Slaves, because they said we had furnish'd Arms

to their Enemies, maintain'd that they were no ways oblig'd to make any return for the Things they had taken.

The reason why they divided the Spoil here, was, because this Band was compos'd of two or three different People: So that those that liv'd at a distance, were apprehensive lest the others, who were just at home, might detain all the Merchandise which they [166] had taken, in the first Villages they should come at; and therefore were resolv'd to play a sure Game, and have their Share aforehand. Nor had they any greater Respect for what belong'd to me, than for the Merchandise which they took from the Canou-men; for they seiz'd my Brocard Chafuble, and all the Ornaments of my portable Chapel, except the Chalice, which they durst not touch. They observ'd that this Vessel, which was of Silver gilt, cast a glittering Light, so that as often as they chanc'd to look towards it, they would shut their Eyes: The reason was, as we understood afterwards, because they believ'd it to be a Spirit which would kill them. I had a little Chest, which I kept lock'd; they made me understand by Signs, that if I did not open it, or break the Lock, they would do it for me, against some sharp Stones which they shew'd me. The reason why they threatned me thus, was, because they had not been able to open it all the way, though they attempted it several times, to see what was in it. These People understand nothing of Locks and Keys: Besides, their Design was not to cumber themselves with the Box it self, but only to take out the Things that were in it. After I had open'd it, and they saw there was little or nothing in it but Books and Papers, they left it me untouch'd.

CHAP. LIII.

The Troop approaches the Village. A Grand Consult amongst the Savages, whether they should kill us, or save and adopt us for their Sons. The Reception which we had from them; and the use they made of my Chasuble.

AFTER five hard Days travel, without so much as resting, except a little by Night in the open Air, we perceiv'd at last abundance of Women and [167] Children coming out to meet our little Army: All the Elders of the Nation were assembled upon this Occasion. We observ'd several Cabins, near the Posts of which lay several Trusses of Straw and dry'd Weeds, where these Barbarians are wont to fasten and burn the Slaves which they bring home with them from their Wars. Here they order'd *Picard du Gay* to sing, who all the time rattled a hollow Gourd full of little round Stones, which he held in his Hand. I observ'd moreover, that his Hair and Face were painted with different Colours, and that they had fastned a Tuft of white Feathers to his Head. These Ceremonies renew'd our Fears; and we thought we had more reason than ever to believe, that they had still a Design to put us to death. Nor were our Fears groundless, since these, with many others, are the Ceremonies which they use at the burning of their Enemies.

The worst was, we could not make our selves be under-

flood. However, after many Vows and secret Prayers which we offer'd up to God on this Occasion, the Barbarians at last gave us some wild Oats to eat, of which I have spoken elsewhere. They gave them us in great Dishes made of Birch-trees; and the Savage Women season'd them with *Bluez*.¹ This is a sort of Black Grain, which they dry in the Sun in the Summer, and are as good as Corrans: The *Dutch* call them *Clake-besen*.

All the while the Feast lasted, which was the best Meal that we had made ever since we had been taken, there was a high Dispute between *Aquipaguetin* and the others, about the Distribution they were to make of the two Canou-men and my self. At last *Aquipaguetin*, as Head of the Party, carry'd it; who turning from one of the principal Captains towards me, presented me to smook in his *Calumet* of Peace, receiving from me at the same time that which we had brought, as a certain Pledge of the Union which [168] was to be for the future 'twixt them and us. After this, he adopted me for his Son, in the room of him that he had lost in the War.

Narbetoba and another Captain did the same by the two Canou-men. This Separation was very grievous to us, tho' somewhat allay'd by the Satisfaction we had to find that our Lives were safe. *Du Gay* took me aside to confess him, being sensible of the uncertain Condition his Life was in, amongst so barbarous a People. This oblig'd him to embrace me very heartily, and to beg my Pardon for what was past,

¹ The common blueberry (*Vaccinium Canadense*), called *bluet* by the French habitants. It was a favorite article of food among the Indians, in its season; they also dried it for winter use.—ED.

having first made the same Request to God. I should have been overjoy'd to have seen *Michael Ako* as well dispos'd: However, I did not omit to shew both the one and the other all the Marks of a most tender Affection.

In short, the Savages having parted us, led us away each to his own Village. Our Way lay over a Morafs, where we march'd half way the Leg in Water for a League together, at the end of which we were met by five of *Aquipaguetin's* Wives, who receiv'd me in one of the three Canou's of Bark which they had brought with them, and then carry'd me a little League farther into a small Island, where their Cabins were.

CHAP. LIV.

The Authors Reception by the Relations of Aquipaguetin. They make him sweat to recover him of his Fatigues. The use they make of his Chasuble and other Ornaments.

I ARRIV'D at this Place in the Month of *May*, 1680. the Day I cannot precisely tell; for I was so harass'd by the Savages on the Way, that I could not make all the little Observations which otherwise I would have done: Besides, there is some seven or [169] eight Hours difference between the Days and Nights of *Europe*, and those of *North-America*, because of the Retrogradation of the Sun. The Cape¹ was always to West of us from *Rochel* [La Rochelle] to *Quebec*; but to South-west from thence, till we came to *Meschasipi*, which made a considerable Variation in the Needle.

This Variation was occasion'd by the unconstant motion of the Needle, which in certain Latitudes would encline to the North, or North-East; whereas in others 'twould turn from the North to the North-west. We never could be so well assur'd of our Computations in our long Voyages, as to know exactly the way our Canou's made in a Day, or what was the Variation of the Needle in each Latitude. But we

¹ Fr. *cap*, apparently a reference to the *cap* of the compass, defined by Larousse as "a diameter traced in the compass-box, which indicates the axis of the ship."—ED.

found there were many Minutes of Variation, according to the Point the Wind was in. To say the truth, able Men might have lost the Memory of many things under the same Circumstances with my self.

At the entry of the Captain's Cabin who had adopted me, one of the Barbarians, who seem'd to be very old, presented me with a great Pipe to smoak in, and weeping over me all the while with abundance of Tears, rubb'd both my Arms and my Head. This was to shew how concern'd he was to see me so harass'd and fatigu'd: And indeed I had often need enough of two Men to support me when I was up, or raise me when I was down. There was a Bears-Skin before the Fire, upon which the youngest Boy of the Cabin caus'd me to lie down, and then with the Grease of wild Cats anointed my Thighs, Legs, and Soles of my Feet.

Aquipaguetin's Son, who call'd me Brother, had got my Brocard Chafuble, and was strutting up and down with it upon his naked Back. He had wrapp'd up in it the Bones of a Man who had been very considerable amongst them, for whose Memory they had still a wonderful Respect. The Priest's Girdle, which [170] was made of red and white Wooll, with two Loops at the end, serv'd him to fasten it, whilst he carry'd it up and down in Triumph, calling it *Louis Chinnen*, which signifies, as I since understand, the Robe of him, who is nam'd the *Sun*. After they had for some time us'd my Chafuble as an Ornament to cover the Bones of their Dead, at the celebrating their most solemn Rites, they made a Present of it to a People in Alliance with them, who

liv'd 4 or 500 Leagues distant towards the West, but were come in Embassie, and had danc'd the *Calumet*.

The Day after my Arrival, *Aquipaguetin*, who was Head of a Great Family, put me on a Robe which was made of the Skins of the Bellies of wild Bulls: He gave me a second, made of ten large Castor-Skins. Then he shew'd me six or seven of his Wives, (for Poligamy is in fashion here;) he told them, as I afterwards understood, That they were to esteem me as one of their Sons. After this, he set a Bark-Dish before me, in which were Bremes, and other white Fish, to regale me withal. He gave Orders to those about him, to give me the Title that was due to the Rank which I was to hold amongst my new Kindred.

Farther; this new Father of mine observing that I could not well rise without two or three to help me, order'd a Stove to be made, into which he caus'd me to enter stark-naked with four Savages; who before they began to sweat, ty'd their *Prepuces* about with certain Strings made of the Bark of a white Wood. This Stove was cover'd with the Skins of wild Bulls, and in it they put Flints and other Stones red-hot. They order'd me by Signs to hold my Breath, time after time, as long as I could, which I did, as well as those that were with me. As for the Privy Parts, I had only a Handkerchief to cover me.

[171] As soon as the Savages that were with me had let go their Breath, which they did with a great force, *Aquipaguetin* began to sing with a loud and thundring Voice; the others seconded him; and laying their Hands on my Body,

began to rub it, and at the same time to weep bitterly. I was like to fall into a Swoon, and so was forc'd to quit the Stove. At my coming out, I was scarce able to take up my Habit of St. *Francis* to cover me withal, I was so weak: However, they continu'd to make me sweat thrice a Week, which at last restor'd me to my pristine Vigour, so that I found my self as well as ever.

CHAP. LV.

The Author like to be famish'd. They admire his Compass, and an Iron Pot which he had. He makes a Dictionary, and instructs them in Points of Religion, in relation to Poligamy and Celibacy.

MANY a melancholy Day did I pass amongst these Savages. *Aquipaguetin*, who adopted me, gave me nothing to eat but a few wild Oats five or six times a Week, and the Roes of dry'd Fish. All this Trash the Women boil'd up in an Earthen Pot: Besides, he sent me into a Neighbouring Isle, with his Wives, Children, and Servants, where I was to hough and dig with a Pick-axe and Shovel, which I had recover'd from those that robb'd us. Here we planted Tobacco, and some *European* Pulse, which I brought from thence, and were highly priz'd by *Aquipaguetin*.

This Man, to make himself the more considerable amongst those of his Tribe, would often assemble the Ancients of his Village, and in presence of them, send for my Compass, which I had still by me. Upon my turning the Needle with a Key, he took occasion [172] to tell them, and with Truth enough, That by the Guidance of that Machine it was, that we *Europeans* travell'd the whole World. Nay, being an able Spokesman, he possess'd them farther, That we were Spirits;

and that we were capable of bringing things to pass that were altogether out of their power. At the end of his Discourse, which was very pathetick, all the Elders wept over me, admiring in me what they could not comprehend.

I had an Iron Pot about three foot round, which had the Figure of a Lion on it, which during our Voyage serv'd us to bake our Victuals in. This Vessel was not so apt to break as our ordinary Kettles, which are more brittle; for which reason it was, not being likely to meet with Braziers to furnish us with new upon occasion, that we took this with us. This Pot the Barbarians durst never so much as touch, without covering their Hands first in something of Castor-Skin. And so great a Terrour was it to the Women, that they had it hung abroad upon the Bough of a Tree; for they durst not come or sleep in the Cabin when it was there.

We would have made a Present of it to some of their Chiefs; but none of them would either accept or make use of it, because they thought that there was a Spirit hid within, that would certainly kill them. These People are all of them subject to the like Superstition. Their Jugglers impose whatever they think fit upon their Belief. 'Twas some time I spent amongst 'em, before I could make my self be understood. But Hunger beginning to press me hard, I set about making a Dictionary in their Tongue, the which I did by means of their Children, with whom I made my self as familiar as possible, to inform my self by their Prattle.

When once I had got the Word *Tabetchiaben*, which signifies in their Language, *How call you this?* I began to

be soon able to talk of such things as are [173] most familiar. This difficulty was hard to surmount at first, because there was no Interpreter that understood both Tongues. For Example; If I had a mind to know what *to run* was in their Tongue, I was forc'd to mend my pace, and indeed actually run from one end of the Cabin to t'other, till they understood what I meant, and had told me the Word; which I presently set down in my Dictionary. The Principal of them observing the great Inclination I had to learn their Language, would often tell me, *Vatchifon égagabé, Spirit, thou takest a great deal of Pains. Put Black to White.* One day they told me the Names of all the Parts of a Man's Body. However, I forbore setting down several immodest Terms, which these People scruple not to use every foot. Observing it, they would often cry *égagabé, égagabé; Spirit, Spirit, set down that Word as well as the rest.*

Thus would they divert themselves with me, and often say to one another, *When we ask Father Louis any thing, (for they had heard our Canou-Men call me so) he does not answer us. But when he has lookt upon the White, (for they have no word for Paper) he then talks, and makes us understand his Thoughts. This White thing, wou'd they add, must needs be a Spirit, which teaches him to understand all we say.* Hence they concluded, that neither of the Canou-Men had so much Wit as my self, because they could not *work upon that which was White.* So that this Qualification in me, made them fondly imagine that I could do any thing else.

One day, seeing the Rain fall in such abundance, that they

fear'd 'twould spoil their hunting, they order'd me to bid it cease. I told them, pointing with my Finger to the Clouds, *That He, who was the Great Captain of Heaven, was the sole Master of the Rain and Sunshine; That He was the Great Disposer of all the Events that happen to Mortals, or the Universe in general; That what they bid me do, depended not on me, but the First Mover, who had sent me thither, to teach them to acknowledge him for their Creatour and Redeemer.*

[174] Observing me distinguish'd from the Canou-Men by my Habit, and having no Notion of *Celibacy*, they would often ask what Age I was, and what Wives and Children I had. Their way of reck'ning their Years is by Winters. These Wretches, void of Light and Instruction, were strangely surpriz'd at the Answer I made them. I told them, pointing to the two Canou-Men, whom I was come three Leagues to visit, *That with us, one Man might marry but one Wife, and that nothing cou'd separate him again from that One, but Death: That for my self, I had promis'd the Great Master of Life never to marry any; but to come and dwell amongst them, and instruct them in the Commands of the Great Master of Heaven and Earth, and to live poorly amongst them, far from my own Country, where all good Things did abound.*

'Tis true, says one of them, *here is little or no Hunting in these Parts, and thou suffereſt much: But have but patience till Summer, we shall then go into the hot Countries, where we shall kill Bulls enough, and then thou wilt make thy self sufficient amends for the time thou haſt ſpent here.* I had been well content, had they let me eat as their Children did; but they hid the

Victuals from me, and wou'd rise to eat in the Night, when I knew nothing of it. And although Women have usually more Compassion than Men, yet they kept the little Fish that they had, all for their Children. They consider'd me as a Slave whom their Warriours had taken in their Enemy's Country; and preferr'd the Lives of their Children before any Consideration they had for me; as indeed it was but reasonable they shou'd.

However, some of the Elders would come often, and mourn over me in a very doleful manner. One wou'd call me *Grandson*, another *Nephew*; and all would say to me, *I am strangely afflicted to see thee so long without eating, and to understand thou hast been so ill treated in thy Journey. Those were young Warriours without Courage, who wou'd have kill'd thee, and who robb'd thee of what [175] thou hadst. If thou wou'dst have had Robes of Castors, or wild Bulls, to dry thy Tears, we wou'd have given 'em thee; but thou wouldst accept of nothing we have presented thee.*

CHAP. LVI.

The most considerable Captain of the Iffati and Nadoueffians upbraid those that took us. The Author baptizes the Daughter of Mamenifi.

OUASICOUDE, that is to say, *The Pierc'd Pine*, the wisest and most considerable of all the Chiefs of the *Iffati* and *Nadoueffians*, made it publickly appear, that he was highly incens'd against the Warriors that had us'd us so very ill. He said once in a full Council, That those who had robb'd us of our Things, were to be compar'd to famish'd Dogs, which having stole a piece of Flesh out of a Dish, sneak away with it when they have done: That they that had acted much after the same rate in regard of us, ought to be look'd upon as Dogs, who cou'd put such unworthy Affronts upon Men, who brought them Iron, and other Merchandizes, which they had no knowledge of, though they were found to be so useful: That for Himself, he shou'd one day have an opportunity of being reveng'd on him, who had been Author of all our Sufferings. This Reprimand was worthy the Character of a Person of *Ouaficoude's* Authority: And the Generosity of the Action redounded since to the Benefit of the whole Nation, as we shall see anon.

Going one day, as I often did, to visit the Cabins, I

found the Infant-Child of one call'd *Mamenish*, very sick. Having a little examin'd the Symptoms of its Distemper, I found the Child past hopes of Recovery. I desir'd our two Canou-Men to give me their [176] Opinions, telling them, I thought my self oblig'd in Conscience to baptize it. *Michael Ako* cou'd not be prevail'd with to enter the Cabin where the Infant lay. He said in excuse, That I could not forget what a Risque we had run once already, of being murder'd by the Savages through my Obstinacy, in persisting to say my Breviary; whence 'twas to be fear'd, that what I was now going to do, might expose us again to the same Danger.

The Wretch had rather comply with certain Superstitions of the Barbarians, than assist me in so pious a Design. Being follow'd then by none but *Picard du Gay*, who assisted as God-father, or rather Witness of the Baptism, I christen'd the Child, and nam'd it *Antonetta*, from St. *Anthony of Padua*; and the rather, because the said *Peter¹ du Gay's* Name was *Anthony Auguelle*, Native of *Amiens*, and Nephew of Monsieur *du Canroi*, Proctor-General of the *Premonstres*,² and since Abbot of *Beaulieu*, to whom I presented him safe at our Return from *Canada*. But to proceed; for want of more proper Utenfils, I took a wooden Dish, and having put some common ordinary Water into it, sprinkled it upon the Head of the little

¹ This is an error for *Picard*, a nick-name given to *Auguelle* from his native province (see p. 180, note 1, ante).—ED.

² The *Premonstrants* were a monastic order founded by Saint Norbert in 1120, at *Prémontré*, France; his object was to correct the disorders prevalent among the chapters of canons. The order soon grew rich and powerful, but in course of time became itself corrupt, and fell into decay. The term "proctor," which *Hennepin* here uses, is more often translated "procurator" (Fr. *procureur*).—ED.

Savage, pronouncing the following Words, *Creature of God, I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Then I took half my Altar-Cloth, which I had snatch'd out of the Hands of a Savage, who had stole it from me, and spread it o'er the Body of the Infant.

The Baptism was accompany'd with no other Ceremony, because I was no longer in a Condition to say Mass, my Sacerdotal Robes being all taken from me. I believ'd the Linen could not serve to a more proper End than a Winding-Sheet to the first Infant of the Country, that had the Happiness to be baptized. I know not how far its Pains might be asswag'd by Virtue of the Linen, or what Alterations it might feel. I am sure I saw it laughing the next Day in [177] its Mother's Arms, who believ'd I had cur'd her Child. However it dy'd some time after. which affected me more with Joy than Grief.

Had this Child recover'd, 'twas much to be fear'd 'twou'd have trod in the Steps of its Fore-fathers, and been overgrown with their infamous Superstitions, for want of a Preacher to instruct it. For indeed, if those of its Nation dwelling in Darkness and Ignorance, *continue to sin without Law, they shall also perish without Law*, as we are told by the Apostle. Upon these Considerations I was glad it had pleas'd God to take this little Christian out of the World, lest it might have fall'n into Temptations, had it recover'd, which might have engag'd it in Errour and Superstition. I have often attributed my Preservation amidst the greatest Dangers which I have since run, to the Care I took for its Baptism.

CHAP. LVII.

An Embassy sent to the Iffati by the Savages that inhabit to the West of them. Whence it appears that there is no such thing as the Streights of Anian; and that Japan is on the same Continent as Louifiana.

UNDER the Reign of the Emperour *Charles V.* the Fathers Recluse¹ of our Order were the first that were sent by his Command into *New-Mexico*; since which time there have been of them beyond the *Vermilion-Sea*. The most Remarkable Epoque of the Streights of *Anian*, commences from the time of that most excellent *Religious* of our Order, *Martin de Valencia*, who was the First Bishop of the great City of *Mexico*. We have spoke of him elsewhere.

In process of time 'twas believ'd that the said Streights were only imaginary: Many Persons noted for great Learning, are of this Opinion; and to [178] evince the Truth of it, I will here subjoin one evident Proof, to those which are already produc'd by them: and it is this. During my stay amongst the *Iffati* and *Nadouffians*, there arriv'd four Savages in Embassie to these People. They had come above five hundred Leagues from the West; and told us by the Interpreters of the *Iffati*, that they were four Moons upon the

¹ The Récollet branch of the Franciscan order (see p. 8, note 1, ante).—ED.

Way; for so it is they call their Months. They added, that their Country was to the West, and that we lay to the East in respect of them; that they had march'd the whole time without resting, except to sleep, or kill Game for their Subsistence. They assur'd us there was no such thing as the Streights of *Anian*; and that in their whole Journey they had neither met with, nor pass'd over any *Great Lake*; by which Phrase they always mean the Sea, nor any Arm of it.¹

They farther inform'd us, that the Nation of the *Assinipoulacs*,² whose Lake is down in the Map, and who lie North-East of the *Iffati*, was not above six or seven Days Journey from us: That none of the Nations within their Knowledge, who lie to the West and North-West of them, had any great Lake about their Countries, which were very large, but only Rivers, which coming from the North, run cross the Countries of their Neighbouring Nations, which border on their Confines on the side of the Great Lake, which in the Language of the Savages is the same as Sea: That Spirits, and Pigmies, or Men of little Stature, did inhabit there, as they had been inform'd by the People that liv'd farther up than themselves; and that all the Nations which lie beyond their Country, and

¹ The name given by early geographers to an imaginary strait, supposed to afford a northern passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it is shown on many old maps—even as late as Herman Moll's (about 1715), and Robert de Vaugondy's of 1750 (revised edition of 1783). For origin of the name *Anian*, see H. H. Bancroft's *Hist. of Northwest Coast*, i, pp. 53-56.—ED.

² Also written *Assinipoulak*; the *Asiniboin* tribe of the *Siouan* stock. They are regarded by our ethnologists as an offshoot from one of the *Dakota* tribes, and Carver (*Travels*, ed. 1778, p. 76) speaks of them as "a revolted band of the *Naudowessies*"; their habitat is mostly in Canada. The lake here called by their name is *Lake Winnipeg*.—ED.

those which are next to them, do dwell in Meadows and large Fields, where are many wild Bulls and Castors, which are greyer than those of the North, and¹ have their Coat more inclining to Black; with many other wild Beasts, which yield very fine Furrs.

[179] The four Savages of the said Embassy assur'd us farther, that there were very few Forests in the Countries through which they pass'd in their way hither; infomuch that now and then they were so put to it for Fuel, that they were forc'd to make Fires of Bull's Dung, to boil their Victuals with in Earthen-Pots, which they make use of, as neither having, nor knowing of any better.²

All these Circumstances which I have here inserted, make it appear, that there is no such thing as the Streights of *Anian*, as we usually see them set down in Maps. To assert the Truth of what I say, I here frankly offer my self to return into these Parts, with such Ships as His *Britannick Majesty*, or their *High and Mightinesses*,³ the *States General*, shall think

¹ An obvious error in translation; for "and" read "which" (see *Nouvelle Découverte*—Utrecht, 1697—p. 370).—ED.

² Remains of earthen pottery have been found in mounds opened in Iowa and Dakota; but Dorsey says (*U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891-92, pp. 276-277): "Pottery has not been made by the Omahas for more than fifty years; the art of making it has been forgotten by the tribe. . . . When pottery was made, they used bowls and kettles (and spoons)." Those Siouan tribes who did not make pottery could easily, and doubtless did, procure utensils by barter among the tribes along the Mississippi. See W. H. Holmes's "Ancient Pottery of Mississippi Valley," in *Report* for 1882-83, pp. 361-436.—ED.

³ High mightinesses: a term applied to the members of the States-General, or legislative body, of Holland.—ED.

fit to fend thither, in order to a full Discovery; in which I have no other Aim but the Glory of God, the Propagation of the Gospel, Instruction of those blind and ignorant People, who have been neglected for so many Ages, Improvement of Trade, which, the better 'tis understood, the more will it daily encrease between the Subjects of the King of *Spain* my Master, and those of His *Britannick Majesty* and *States General*: And lastly, That Correspondence and Union so necessary to be maintain'd amongst them, that they may live and labour together for the Common Good. I declare, I have no other Design; that my Intentions are sincere and upright, and that my Desire is to be serviceable to all *Europe*; Respect being first had, as I am in Duty bound, to my Natural Prince, the King of *England*, and the *States*; to whom I am singularly engag'd, for the good Reception they were pleas'd to honour me with. Others perhaps would have us'd me ill, in return of all my Services, and the many dangerous Voyages I have made, with no other Design, but to contribute what in me lay, to the Glory of God, the Salvation of Souls, and the Good of all *Christendom*. I know [180] well what I say. But to return: Whatever Efforts have been made for many Years past, by the *English* and *Dutch*, the two Nations of the World, who are the greatest Navigators, to find out a Passage to *China* and *Japan*, thro' the Frozen-Sea, they have not as yet been able to effect it. But by the help of my Discovery, and the Assistance of God, I doubt not to let all *Europe* see that a Passage may still be found thither, and that an easie one

too. For Example; One may be transported into the *Pacifick-Sea* by Rivers, which are large, and capable of carrying great Vessels, and from thence 'tis easie to go to *China* and *Japan*, without crossing the Equinoctial Line. Those that read my Relation, and will never so little examine the *Maps* which are annexed to it, will soon acknowledge the Truth of what I say.

CHAP. LVIII.

The Iffati assemble to hunt the Wild-Bull. Refusal of the two Canow-Men to take the Author into their Canow, in order to go down the River of St. Francis.

AFTER three Months or thereabouts, spent very ill amongst the *Iffati* and *Nadouessians*, these Nations assembled to hunt the Wild-Bull; and their Captains having assign'd them their Stations, that they might not fall in with one another, they separated themselves into many Bands.

Aquipaguetin, the Chief, that had adopted me for his Son, wou'd have carry'd me to the West with about 200 Families. But remembering the Reproaches which the great Captain *Ouascoude* had made him, upon the Score of our ill usage, I was apprehensive lest he shou'd lay hold of this Opportunity to avenge himself on me. I told him therefore, I expected some Spirits, which in their Language is as much as [181] to say *Europeans*, at the River *Ouisconsin*, which discharges it self into the River *Meschasipi*; that according to the Promise made me by the *Sieur de la Salle*, they wou'd meet me there with Iron, and other Commodities, which as yet they were unacquainted with; and that if he would think of turning his Expedition that way, I shou'd be very glad to accompany

him. He heard my Propofal, and was willing to embrace it; but thofe of his Band wou'd not let him.

In the beginning of *July*, 1680, we began to defcend towards the South, with the great Captain *Ouafcoude*, and about 80 Cabins, containing 130 Families and 250 Warriors. The Savages who had nothing but old Canou's, cou'd not make me room; fo that they went four Days Journey lower, to get fome Birchen-Bark, to make more new ones. I made a hole in the Ground, in which I hid my gilt Chalice, with my Books and Papers, till we fhould return from hunting; and took nothing with me but my Breviary, that I might not cumber my felf.

I Plac'd my felf upon the Brink of the Lake which forms the River of *St. Francis*, where I held out my Hands to the Canou-Men, as they paff very fwiftly by, to defire them to take me in. Our two *Europeans* were in a Canow, which had been given them by the Savages. However, I cou'd not prevail with them to receive me. *Michael Ako* told me very brutifhly, he had carry'd me long enough. This rough and unhandfome Anfwer made me very melancholy, when I faw my felf forfaken by thofe of my own Country and Religion, whom I had always endeavour'd to oblige, as themfelves had often acknowledg'd before Perfons of the firft Quality, where I was us'd to be receiv'd with all the Marks of Difinction, while themfelves were fuffer'd to ftand and cool their Heels at the Door.

[182] But God, who of his Mercy never forfook me throughout all my Adventures, infpir'd two of the Savages

with fo much Compaffion, as to take me with them into their Canou, though it were lefs than that of the *Europeans*. Here I was continually employ'd in laving out Water, which foak'd in again as faft as 'twas thrown out, through abundance of little Chinks. This Work was uneafie enough; befides that, I could not keep my felf from being thoroughly wet. However, 'twas neceffary to have Patience. It might have been properly faid of this little Veffel, that when a Man was in it, he was in his Coffin; fo crazy was it, and ready to break. This fort of Canou's feldom weigh above 50 Pounds, and the leaft Motion of the Body overfets them, at leaft if you have not been long acquainted with this fort of Navigation.

At Evening when we landed, *Picard* began to excufe himfelf, pretending their Canow was a very rotten one, that it would certainly have burft, had we been all three in it, and that we muft needs have been left by the way. Notwithftanding thefe Excufes, I told them, that being Chriftians, they had not done well to ufe me as they did, efpecially confidering among whom we were: That they had forfaken me very unfeafonably, having left me all alone at above 800 Leagues diftance from *Canada*, allowing for the Reaches we were to make, before we cou'd get thither: That if they had receiv'd any good Ufage from the Savages, 'twas owing to my Ingenuity more than their own, having been capable of letting feveral of them Blood, and otherwife affifting 'em in their Sicknefs by my Orvietan, and fome other Medicines which I carefully kept by me.

To this I added, that by the fame means I had cur'd

others of them that had been bitten by Rattle-Snakes, of which I shall speak in my *Second Volume*. That I shav'd the Crowns of their Children's Heads, [183] (on which they wear the Hair till eighteen or twenty) which was no small matter, considering they cou'd not do it themselves, without putting them to great Pain, by burning off the Hair with flat Stones, which they heat red-hot in the Fire: That hitherto indeed, I had made but little advance in order to their Salvation, by reason of their natural Stupidity; but that the best way to take the Soul was to begin with the Body: That, in short I had gain'd their Friendship by my Services, and that they would have certainly kill'd us at the time they us'd us so ill, but that they knew I had certain Remedies about me proper to restore Health to the Sick; which they thought was a Treasure never to be valu'd as it ought.

None was with me during this Harangue, but *Picard du Gay*, who, as he was going to his Cabin, desir'd me to pardon him. But the great Captain *Ouafcoude* having heard of this barbarous Action of the two Canow-Men, order'd them to appear before the Council, and told them, that for the future he wou'd take care to remove me out of the reach, not only of *Aquipaguetin*, who had so often attempted my Life, and yet adopted me for his Son, but likewise from their Company, who, like two Villains, as they were, had so basely deserted me. Had I not luckily bethought my self to break three Arrows in the presence of this brave Chief, the Canow-Men being yet by, he had infallibly caus'd them to have been put

to death that very Minute. I shall never forget the Humanity of this great Captain, who treated me so favourably on all Occasions. The two Canow-Men were surpriz'd at what had happen'd, and promis'd me an entire Obedience for the future.

[184] CHAP. LIX.

The Savages halt above the Fall of St. Anthony of Padua. They are streighten'd for Provisions. The Author, with Picard, returns to the River Ouifconfin. The Adventures of the Voyage.

FOUR Days after our Departure to hunt the wild Bulls, the Barbarians made a Halt some eight Leagues above the Fall of *St. Anthony of Padua*, upon an Eminence, over against the River of *St. Francis*. The Savage Women prepar'd little Docks to build the new Canou's in, against the return of those who were gone for Bark. The Youth in the mean time went out to hunt the Stag, the wild Goat and the Castor; but with so little Success, that the Prey they brought home was so disproportionable to the Number that were to feed on't, that we had hardly every one a Mouthful. Happy the Man that once in four and twenty Hours cou'd get so much as a Sup of Broath.

This put *Picard* and my self upon hunting after Gooseberries, and other wild Fruits, which often did us more harm than good. And I am confident, that had it not been for my Orvietan-Powder, which in a great measure corrected the bad Nutriment which we took in, our Lives had been in great Danger. This extreme Want, made us take a Refo-

lution, upon *Michael Ako's* refusing to accompany us, to venture our selves in a little forry Canou as far as the River *Ouisconsin*, which was at no less distance from us than 130 Leagues, to see if the *Sieur de Salle* had kept his Word with us: For he had promis'd us positively to send Men with Powder, and Lead, and other Merchandizes, to the place which I have already mention'd: And of this he assured me [185] more than once, before his departure from the *Illinois*.

The Savages wou'd never have suffer'd us to have made this Voyage, without one of the three being left with them: And my self was the Man they pitch'd upon to stay, by the Advice of the great Captain *Ouaficoude*, whilst the two Canou-Men were at liberty to proceed on their Voyage. But *Michael Ako*, who was apprehensive of the many Hardships he was like to meet with in this Expedition, could never be prevail'd upon to consent to it: So that seeing he began to relish the Barbarians way of living, I desir'd their Chief, that I might have leave to accompany *Picard* in his stead; who accordingly granted my Request.

Our whole Equipage consisted of fifteen or twenty Charges of Powder, a Fusil, a little forry Earthen Pot, which the Barbarians gave us, a Knife between us both, and a Garment of Castor. Thus were we equipt for a Voyage of 250 Leagues; but our greatest Trust was in Providence. As we were carrying our little Canou to the Fall of St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, we perceiv'd five or six Savages, who were got there before us. One of them was got up into an Oak over against the great Fall of Water, where he was weeping most

bitterly, having fasten'd to one of the Branches of the Tree, a Robe of Castor, which was white within-side, and garnish'd with Porcupine.

The poor Wretch had offer'd it in Sacrifice to the Fall; which, indeed, of it self is terrible, and hath something in it very astonishing: However, it doth not come near that of *Niagara*. I could hear him say, as he was addressing himself to the Cascade, with Tears in his Eyes; *Thou art a Spirit, grant that Those of my Nation may pass here without any Disaster; That we may meet with a great many wild Bulls; and that we may be so happy as to vanquish our Enemy, and take a great many Slaves, whom, when we have made [168, i. e. 186] them suffer according to their Merits, we will bring hither, and slay in thy Presence. The Messenacks ('tis so they call the Nation of the Outtouagami's) have slain some of our Kindred: Grant we may be able to revenge our selves upon 'em for that Affront.*

The last part of his Request hapned to be fulfill'd sooner, I believe, than he expected: For as they return'd from hunting the wild Bulls, they attack'd their Enemy, kill'd a good many of them, and carry'd off several Slaves, whom they put to death before the Fall, after the most barbarous and inhumane manner in the World, as we shall see in the *Second Volume*. Now if after such a barbarous Ceremony as I have been describing, it happen but once that the Success answers the Request, 'tis sufficient to render them obstinate in their superstitious Custom, tho' it miscarry a hundred times for once that it hits. As for the Castor-Robe, which

was thus offer'd as a sort of Sacrifice, one of our *Europeans* made bold with it at his return, and wou'd have been glad of having more frequent Opportunities of profiting by their Devotions.

When we had got about a League below the Fall, *Picard* mis'd his Powder-Horn, and remembring he had left it there, was forc'd to go back and fetch it. At his Return I shew'd him a huge Serpent, as big as a Man's Leg, and seven or eight Foot long. She was working her self insensibly up a steep craggy Rock, to get at the Swallows Nests which are there in great Numbers: And at the Bottom of the Mountain we saw the Feathers of those she had already devour'd. We pelted her so long with Stones, till at length she fell into the River. Her Tongue which was in form of a Lance, was of an extraordinary length. Her Hiss might be heard a great way, and the Noise of it seiz'd us with Horror. Poor *Picard* dreamt of her at Night, and was in a great Agony [187] all the while. He told me, I had done him a sensible Kindness in waking him; for though he was a Man intrepid enough, yet he was all in a sweat with the fright of his Dream. I have likewise my self been often disturb'd in my Sleep with the Image of her; so great an Impression did the sight of this Monster make upon our Spirits.

As we were falling down the River *Meschasipi* with extraordinary Swiftnes, because the Current is very rapid in this place, by reason 'tis so near the Fall, we found some of the Savages of our Band, in the Islands of the River, where they had set up their Cabins, and were well provided with Bulls

Flesh. They offer'd us very freely of what they had. But about two Hours after our landing, we thought we should have been all murder'd: Fifteen or sixteen Savages came into the middle of the Place where we were, with their great Clubs in their Hands. The first thing they did was to over-set the Cabin of those that had invited us. Then they took away all their Victuals, and what Bears-Oil they could find in their Bladders, or elsewhere, with which they rubb'd themselves all over from Head to Foot.

We took them at first for Enemies; and *Picard* was very near sticking the first that came in with his Sword. At the first surprize, I began to lay hold of the two Pocket-Pistols that *du Gay* had left me; but by good luck I contain'd myself, or otherwise, without doubt, there had been an end of us; for their Companions would not have fail'd to have reveng'd upon us the Death of those we had kill'd.

We knew not what these Savages were at first; but it appear'd they were some of those that we had left above at the Fall of *St. Anthony*. One of them, who call'd himself my Uncle, told me, that those who had given us Victuals, had done basely to go and forestal the others in the Chase; and that according to the Laws and Customs of their [188] Country, 'twas lawful for them to plunder them, since they had been the cause that the Bulls were all run away, before the Nation could get together, which was a great Injury to the Publick; For when they are all met, they make a great Slaughter amongst the Bulls; for they surround them so on every side, that 'tis impossible for them to escape.

CHAP. LX.

The Hunting of the Tortoise. The Author's Canow is carry'd off by a sudden blast of Wind, which was like to have reduc'd him and his Companion to great Streights.

IN about threefcore Leagues rowing, we had kill'd but one wild-Goat, which we did as she was crossing the River. The Heats were now grown so excessive, that our Provisions would be spoil'd in twenty four Hours. This put us upon Hunting the Tortoise; but 'twas with much difficulty that we could take any; for being very quick of hearing, they would throw themselves into the Water upon the least noise. However, we took one at last, which was much larger than any we had seen: His Shell was thin, and the Flesh very fat. Whilst I was contriving to cut off his Head, he had like to have been before-hand with me, by snapping of my Finger with his Teeth, which are very sharp.

Whilst we were managing this Affair, we had halled our Canou a-shoar; but it seems a sudden and violent Blast of Wind had carry'd her off again into the middle of the River. *Picard* was gone into the Meadows, to see if he could kill a wild Bull; so that I was left alone with the Canou. This oblig'd me to throw my Habit as fast as I could over the Tortoise, which I had turn'd, for fear he should get [189]

away. I likewise laid several Stones upon my Clothes, the better to secure him. When I had done, I fell a swimming after our Canow, which went very fast down the River, being carry'd by a very quick Stream, because 'twas just at the turning of a Point. After I had recover'd it with a great deal of difficulty, I durst not get into it, for fear of being overfet, and wetting the Woollen Coverlet that was in it, which I us'd to sleep on, and the rest of our little Equipage: For which reason I was forc'd to push it sometimes before me, and sometimes tug it after me, till by little and little I gain'd the Shoar, a small half quarter of a League below the Place where I had left the Tortoise.

Picard returning from the Chace, where he had kill'd nothing; and finding only my Habit upon the Tortoise, but no Canow, had reason to think that some Savage or other having found me alone, had kill'd me. In great suspense, he return'd into the Meadows, to look about if he could see any body. In the mean time, I had made what haste I cou'd up the River with my Canow; and had no sooner, taken up my Clothes, but I 'spy'd a Drove of fixty Bulls and Cows, with their Calves, crossing the River, towards the Land on the South-side. I pursu'd them in my Canow, and set up as great a Cry as I could, to give *Picard* notice of it. He made up to the Noise, and had time enough to get into the Canow, whilst a Dog which we had with us, by his Barking, had drove them to a Bay in the Isles of the River. When we were prepared, the Dog drove them from thence; and as they pass'd by us, *Picard* kill'd one of them with his Fufil, having lodg'd

the Bullet in his Head. Having dragg'd it to the side of the River, it prov'd to be a Cow, that weigh'd about five or six hundred weight. The Bulls have more Flesh, and weigh heavier; but because we could not get it quite to Land, we contented our [190] selves with cutting the best Pieces, and left the rest in the Water.

'Twas almost now eight and forty Hours since we eat last; so that we fell a kindling a Fire as fast as we could, which we made of the Wood the River had thrown upon the Sands; and as fast as *Picard* skinn'd it, I put the Pieces of Flesh into our little earthen Pot to boil. We eat of it with that greediness, that both of us were sick; so that we were oblig'd to hide our selves in an Island, where we rested two Days for the recovery of our Health by the help of my *Orvietan*, which was a great Benefit to us during the whole Voyage. Whilst I was fetching the Pieces of Flesh which *Picard* gave me, I went backward and forward very often close by a Rattle-Snake, seven or eight Foot long, without perceiving him, as he lay wrapt asleep in the Sun. I told *Picard* of it, who came and kill'd him with our Oar, and afterwards threw him into the River.

To be short, we could not charge our selves with much Provisions, because of the smallness of our Canow; besides that, the excessive Heat tainted it presently, so that 'twou'd swarm with Worms in an instant. For these Reasons we were soon in the same condition; and when we embark'd in the Morning, we knew not whether we shou'd have any thing to eat at Night. Never had we more reason to admire the

Goodness of Providence, than during this Voyage. 'Twas not every Day we met with any Game, nor when we did, were we sure to kill it.

The Eagles, which are to be seen in abundance in these vast Countries, will sometimes drop a Breme, a large Carp, or some other Fish, as they are carrying them to their Nests in their Talons, to feed their young. One day we 'spy'd an Otter, which was feeding on a great Fish upon the Bank of the River; which Fish had upon its Head a sort of [191] Beak about five Inches broad, and a Foot and a half long. As soon as *Picard* 'spy'd it, he cry'd out he saw the Devil between the Claws of the Otter. This Surprize was not so great, but that we made bold to feed heartily upon it. The Flesh of it was good; and we nam'd it the Sturgeon with the long Beak.¹

¹ See p. 219, note 1, *ante*.—ED.

CHAP. LXI.

We continue our Course in search of the River Ouifconfin. Aquipaguetin finds us, and gets thither before us. We subsist meerly by Providence.

NOTWITHSTANDING we had row'd so many Leagues, yet cou'd we not find the River of *Ouifconfin*: This made us believe that it was still at a great distance from us; when behold *Aquipaguetin*, whom we believ'd to be above 200 Leagues off, appear'd all on a sudden, with ten Warriors with him, towards the middle of *July*, 1680. We thought at first he came to kill us, because we had quitted him, though 'twere by the consent of the other Savages: But he gave us some wild Oats, with a Piece of good Bull's Flesh; and ask'd us if we had found the *Europeans* who were to meet us with their Merchandise. Our Answer not satisfying him, he was resolv'd to go to *Ouifconfin* himself; but when he came there, found no body. He return'd at the end of three Days, as we were still pursuing our Voyage, being resolv'd to acquit our selves fully of the Promise which we had made the *Sieur de Salle*, to come thither and meet those that he should send.

When *Aquipaguetin* first appear'd at his return, *Picard* was gone to Hunt in the Meads, and my self remain'd alone in a little Cabin, which [192] we had set up under our Coverlet,

which one of the Savages had return'd me, to shade us from the Sun-beams, which were very scorching at this Season. *Aquipaguetin* seeing me alone, came up to me with his Club in his Hand: I immediately laid hold of my two Pocket-Pistols and a Knife, which *Picard* had recover'd out of the Hands of the Barbarians. I had no mind to kill the Man that had adopted me, but only frighten him, and keep him from murdering me, in case that were his intent.

Aquipaguetin began to reprimand me for exposing my self in the manner I did to the Insults of their Enemies; and that at least I ought to have kept the other side of the River. He would have carry'd me with him, telling me, that he had 300 Hunters with him, who kill'd more Game than those that I was engag'd with. And probably it had been more adviseable for me to have follow'd his Advice, than to prosecute my Voyage any farther. However, our Resolution then was, to continue our course towards the River *Ouisconsin*; where when we came, we found none of the Men the *Sieur de la Salle* had promis'd to send us. *Picard* and my self had like to have perish'd on a thousand different Occasions, as we came down the River: And now we found our selves oblig'd to go up it again, which could not be done without repeating the same Hazards, and other Difficulties not to be imagin'd.

[193] CHAP. LXII.

The great Streights which the Author and his Companion are reduc'd to in their Voyage. They at last meet again with the Savages at their return from Hunting.

PICARD, who had been very ill us'd by the Savages, had rather venture all than go up the River with *Aquipaguetin*. Six Charges of Powder was all that we had left, which oblig'd us to husband it as well as we could; wherefore we divided it into twenty, to shoot only for the future at Turtles or Wild Pigeons. When these also were spent, we had recourse to three Hooks, which we baited with some stinking Barbel that an Eagle hapned to drop. We took nothing the two first Days, and were destitute of all means of subsistence, This made us, you must think, betake our selves to Prayers with greater fervency than ever. And yet *Picard*, 'midst all our Misfortunes, could not forbear telling me, that he should pray to God with a much better Heart if his Belly were full.

I comforted both him and my self as well as I could, and desir'd him to row with all the force he had left, to see if we could catch a Tortoise. The next Morning, having row'd the best part of the Night, we found a Tortoise, which was no bigger than an ordinary Plate. We went to boiling him the same Minute on the Fire that we had kindled. We

devour'd it so haftily, that I did not obferve that I cut the Gall, which made my Mouth as bitter as it felf; but I ran immediately and gargled my Throat, and fo fell to't again, with the fame eagernefs as before.

Notwithftanding our famifh'd Condition, we got at laft to the *River of Bulls* [Buffalo River]: Here we caft our Hooks, which we baited with a white Fifh that an Eagle [194] had let fall. God, who never abandons thofe that truft in him, fuccour'd us very vifibly on this occafion; for we had fcarce finifh'd our Prayers towards ten at Night, when *Picard*, who heard the Noife, quitted his Devotion, and ran to the Hooks, where he found two Barbels hung, which were fo large, that I was forc'd to help him to get them out of the Water. We did not ftand to ftudy what Sauce we fhould make for thefe monftrous Fifh, which weigh'd above twenty five pound both; but having cut them to pieces, broil'd 'em on the Coals. Boil them we could not, our little Earthen Pot being unhappily broke fome time before.

When we had fatisfy'd our Appetite, and return'd our Thanks to Him, whose Providence had fo feafonably reliev'd us, we heard a noife about two in the Morning, upon the Bank of the *River of Bulls*, where we then were. After the *Who-goes-there?* we heard the Anfwer was, *Tepatoni Nika*, and the Word *Nikanagi*; which is as much as to fay, *Friends, all is well*. I told *Picard*, that by the Language I believ'd them to be *Illinois*, or *Outouagamis*, who are Enemies of the *Iffati*, or *Nadoueffans*. But the Moon fhining very bright, and the Day beginning to appear, I perceiv'd 'twas the Savage

Mamenisi, whose Infant-Daughter I Baptiz'd, when *Picard* assisted as Godfather, or Witness. He knew us again presently; and being just come from Hunting, where they had had plenty of Game, he gave us what Victuals we pleas'd; and inform'd us, that all those of his Nation were coming down the *River of Bulls*, which discharges it self into the *Meschafipi*, having their Wives and Children with them.

What he said was true; for the Savages, with whom *Michael Ako* had staid behind, were all descending the *River of Bulls* with their Fleet of Canow's well stor'd with Provisions. *Aquipaguetin* by the way had acquainted those of his Nation, how [195] *Picard* and my self had expos'd our selves in our Voyage to *Ouisconsin*, and what great Hazards we had ran. The Chiefs of the Savages gave us to understand, that they were very well satisfi'd with what we had done: But all of them reproach'd *Michael Ako* for a Base Fellow, who had refus'd to accompany us for fear of being famish'd by the way. *Picard* too, but that I did what I could to hinder it, would have us'd him ill before all the Company, so incens'd was he against him, for his want of Courage and Affection.

CHAP. LXIII.

The Savage Women bide their Provisions up-and-down in private Holes. They go down the River again a second time. Address of the Savages. Bravery of one of the Savages.

THE Savage Women being come to the Mouth of the *River of Bulls*, hid their Provisions up-and-down the little Islands that are there, and in hollow Places under-ground. These People have a way to preserve their Meat thus, without Salt, as we shall see hereafter. We fell down the River a second time, in company of a multitude of Canow's, of which I have already spoke, Hunting all the way as we went, and were got a matter of fourscore Leagues. The Savages from time to time hid their Canows in the little Island, or in the Reeds upon the Bank of the River, and went seven or eight Leagues up the Country into the Meadows beyond the Mountains, where at several times they kill'd between an hundred and fixscore Cows and Bulls. Whilst they are at the Chase, they always leave some Old Men on the top of the Mountains, to see if they can discover the Enemy.

All this while I had a Savage under my Cure, who usually call'd me Brother: He had run a [196] Thorn very deep into his Foot, and I was then putting a Plaister on it, when on a sudden the Alarm was taken in our Camp. Two hundred

Archers immediately ran to see what was the matter ; and the generous Savage, whose Foot I had laid open, in order to get out the Thorn, which was very deep, sprung likewise from me on a sudden, and ran as fast as the best, that he might not lose his share in the Action. But instead of the Enemy, they could see nothing but about an hundred Stags, which were running away as fast as they could. My poor Patient had much ado to recover the Camp. All the while the Alarm lasted, the Women and Maids kept singing in a very sad and melancholy Tone.

Picard being gone to his Host, I was left alone with one *Otcimbi* ; but after the second Hunting, I was forc'd to carry an Old Woman with me in my Canow, who was above fourscore : For all that, she help'd me to row, and with her Oar would now-and-then pat two or three little Children, that lay and disturb'd us in the middle of our Canow. The Men were very kind to me ; but for all that, 'twas necessary to make a Court to the Women ; for the Victuals were all in their Custody, who deliver'd every one his Mefs. This I did by shaving now-and-then the Crowns of their Children's Heads, who wear their Hair shorn not unlike our Monks. They let it grow till they are fifteen, sixteen, or eighteen Years old, as well on the top of the Head, as elsewhere ; but at that Age, their Parents take it off, by burning it with flat stones made red-hot in the Fire : So that the Women thought themselves mightily beholding to me for shaving their Children, because I took off the Hair without pain.

We had again another Alarm in our Camp : The Old

Men, who had their Station on the top of the Mountains, sent to give notice that they had descry'd some Warriors from afar. The Archers [197] ran as hard as they could drive, towards the Place where the Enemy was said to appear, every one endeavouring to be first in the Action. But after all this Noise, they brought nothing back with them but two Women of their own Nation, who were come to acquaint them that one of their Parties being gone a Hunting, towards the end of the Upper Lake, had light upon five Spirits, by which Name it is they call the *Europeans*. They added, That these Spirits had talk'd to 'em, by means of some of their Nation who had seen us, and had been Slaves amongst the *Outouagamis* and *Iroquese*, whose Language they understood: That they had also desir'd them to conduct them to the Place where we were, because they should be very glad to know whether we were *English*, *Dutch*, *Spaniards*, or *Canadians*: And farther, That they could not imagine how we had been able to penetrate so far up into the Country amongst these People.

I must observe hereupon, that there are certain Persons at *Canada*, who have got the Management of all Affairs there into their hands, as I have elsewhere said. These People being very angry, that we had been aforehand with them in our Discoveries, had sent Men after us to share in the Glory of the Action: For they hoped by our Means to get a Knowledge of the Nations which we had seen, in order to Trade thither, as soon as they should have a Pretence of sending us back to *Europe*.

[198] CHAP. LXIV.

Arrival of the Sieur Du Luth in our Camp. He desires us to return with him and his Followers to the Country of the Iffati and Nadoueffians. The Author cast my Coverlet over a dead Man. The Savages are pleas'd at it.

THE 28th of July, 1680, we began to ascend the River *Meschasipi* the third time. The Savages, who had made a grand Hunt with good Success, were resolv'd to return home to their own Villages, and prefs'd us to go with them; promising to conduct us as far as the Nations that inhabited at the End of the Upper-Lake [Lake Superior]. They said they had a design to make an Alliance with those People through our Means. The Sieur *du Luth*¹ was arriv'd there from *Canada*, accompany'd with five Men, whose Equipage was half Soldier, half Merchant.

They came up to us in company with the two Savage-Women an hundred and twenty Leagues, or thereabouts, from the Country of the *Barbarians*, that had taken us.

¹ Daniel Greysolon du Luth (Lhut) was especially prominent among Northwestern explorers. An officer in the army of France, he came to Canada about 1676; two years later, he conducted a French expedition into the Sioux country, of which he took formal possession (1679) for France. He spent nearly ten years in explorations (mainly beyond Lake Superior) and fur-trading; he was for a time commandant of the Northwest. In 1689, he had returned to the St. Lawrence; he died in 1710.—ED.

They desir'd us, because we had some knowledge of the Language of the *Iffati*, to accompany them back to the Villages of those People. I readily agreed to their request, especially when I understood that they had not receiv'd the Sacraments in the whole two Years and a half that they had been out upon their Voyage. The *Sieur du Luth*, who pass'd for their Captain, was overjoy'd to see me, and told me as a Secret, that those who had sent him, wou'd mis of their aim, as he wou'd let me know more at leisure. And observing how I shav'd the Crowns of the Young Savages, he order'd them to be told I was his eldest Brother.

[199] All this made the Savages treat me better than ever, and furnish me very plentifully with provisions. I apply'd my self also more than ever to the means of their Salvation; and 'tis true they hearken'd to me attentively enough. But then, to make any progress, one must live whole Years amongst them, they are so ignorant, and grounded in Superstition.

The *Sieur du Luth* was charm'd at the sight of the Fall of *St. Anthony of Padua*, which was the Name we had given it, and in all appearance will remain with it.¹ I also shew'd him the craggy Rock, where the monstrous Serpent was climbing up to devour the young Swallows in their Nests; and re-

¹ In the *Louisiane* (p. 200), Hennepin makes the Falls of St. Anthony "forty or fifty feet in height." Carver (*Travels*, p. 69) says that the perpendicular fall is thirty feet, with a considerable descent besides in the lower rapids; see the engraving at p. 70, representing the falls as seen by him in 1766. But little now remains of this noble cataract: the rock over which it falls, a soft sandstone, has been gradually worn away by the action of the water; and the utilization of the swift current for manufacturing purposes has aided the work of destruction.—ED.

counted to him the Horror that seiz'd *Picard*, at the Image his Fancy fram'd of that terrible Animal in his Dream.

I must here observe, that seeing my self at Liberty to say my Office after the Arrival of the *Sieur du Luth*, to be more exact in the Service, I thought I wou'd ask him the Day of the Month: He told me as freely, he cou'd not satisfy me in that Point, for he had no Notion of it left. Upon this I recounted to him the ill usage which we receiv'd at the Hands of the *Barbarians*, at their first taking us, which proceeded many times so far as to threaten our Lives; that therefore he ought not to be surpriz'd, if through the Terrors and Apprehensions which I had lain so long under, I had forgot even the Day of the Week.

We arriv'd at the Villages of the *Iffati* on the 14th of *August*, 1680, where I found my *Chalice* very safe, with the Books and Papers which I had hid under-ground, in presence of the Savages themselves. These Wretches had never had so much as a thought to meddle with them, being fearful and superstitious in relation to Spirits, and believing there is Witchcraft in everything they cannot apprehend. [200] The Tobacco which I planted before our Departure, was half choak'd with Grass. But the Cabbage, and other things which I had sown, were of a prodigious growth. The Stalks of the Purslain were as big as Reeds: But the Savages were afraid so much as to taste them.

A little after our return, the Savages invited us to a great Feast after their own fashion. There were above an hundred and twenty Men at it naked. *Ouaficoude*, the first Captain of

the Nation, and Kinsman of the Deceas'd, whose dead Body I cover'd when they brought him back to the Village in a Canow, brought me some dry'd Flesh and wild Oats in a dish of Bark, which he set before me upon a Bull's Hide, whiten'd, and garnish'd with Porcupine Skins on the one side, and curl'd Wooll on the other.

After I had eat, this Chief put the same Robe on my Head, and cover'd my Face with it, saying with a loud Voice before all that were present, *He whose dead Body thou didst cover, covers thine while alive. He has carry'd the Tydings of it to the Country of Souls, (for these People believe the Transmigration of Souls:) What thou didst in respect of the Dead, is highly to be esteem'd: All the Nation applauds and thanks thee for it.*

After this he gently reproach'd the *Sieur du Luth*, that he did not cover the Dead, as I had done. To which the *Sieur* desir'd me to answer, That he never cover'd the Bodies of any but such Captains as himself. To which the Savage answer'd, *Father Louis* (for so he heard the *Europeans* call me) *is a greater Captain than thou: His Robe* (speaking of my Brocard Chasuble, which they had taken from me, and was afterwards sent as a Present to our Allies who liv'd three Moons distance from this Country) *was finer than what thou wearest.*

When these Savages speak of a Journey of three or more Moons, they mean Months. They march well, and will travel fifteen Leagues a Day. By [201] which the Reader may judge what an extent of Ground they can go in three Month.

CHAP. LXV.

The Author takes his leave of the Savages to return to Canada.

A Savage is slain by his Chief, for advising to kill us. Dispute between the Sieur du Luth and the Author, about the Sacrifice of Barbarians.

TOWARDS the end of *September*, seeing we had no Tools proper to build a House to dwell in during the Winter, amongst these People; and considering that we were destitute of Provisions necessary to subsist there, as our Design was at first to have done, we resolv'd to let them understand, that to procure them Iron, and other Merchandizes, which were useful for them, 'twas convenient that we shou'd return to *Canada*, and that at a certain time which we shou'd agree upon between us, they shou'd come half the way with their Furrs, and we the other half with our *European* Commodities: That they might let two of their Warriors go with us, whom we wou'd carry into our Country, and likewise bring back again the next Year to the place appointed for meeting, from whence they might proceed to acquaint them of our return, in order to their meeting us with their Effects.

Upon this they held a great Council, to consider whether they shou'd send some of their Nation with us or no. Two there were who were for it, and offer'd themselves to be the

Men: But they alter'd their Opinion the Day of our Departure, alledging for a Reason, That we were obliged to pass through many Nations who were their sworn Enemies, and wou'd be sure to seize their Men, and take them out of our Hands, either to burn them, or put them [202] otherwise to Death by exquisite Torments, and that without our being able to hinder it, being so few in Number as we were.

I answer'd, That all those People, whom they were afraid of, were our Friends and Allies, and that in consideration of us, they wou'd forbear to injure any of their Nation that were with us. These Barbarians want no Wit; on the contrary, their Natural Parts are extraordinary. They told us in return, that since we were to pass through these People, who were their sworn Enemies, we shou'd do well to destroy them, at whose Hands they had receiv'd so many Injuries; that then their Men shou'd go and return with us to fetch them Iron, and other Commodities which they wanted, and wou'd gladly treat with us about. From whence we may gather, that these Barbarians are full of Resentment, and Thoughts of Revenge, Dispositions not altogether so well prepar'd, to receive the meek Doctrine of the Gospel.

In fine, *Ouafcoude* their Chief Captain, having consented to our Return, in a full Council, gave us some Bushels of Wild-Oats, for our Subsistence by the way, having first regal'd us in the best manner he cou'd, after their fashion. We have already observ'd, that these Oats are better and more wholesome than Rice. After this, with a Pencil, he mark'd down on a Sheet of Paper, which I had left, the Course that we were

to keep for four hundred Leagues together. In short, this natural Geographer describ'd our Way so exactly, that this Chart serv'd us as well as my Compass cou'd have done. For by observing it punctually, we arriv'd at the Place which we design'd, without losing our way in the least.

All things being ready, we dispos'd our selves to depart, being eight *Europeans* of us in all. We put [203] our selves into two Canows, and took our leaves of our Friends, with a Volly of our Men's Fufils, which put them into a terrible Fright. We fell down the River of *St. Francis*, and then that of the *Meschasipi*. Two of our Men, without saying anything, had taken down two Robes of Castor, from before the Fall of *St. Anthony of Padua*, where the Barbarians had hung them upon a Tree as a sort of Sacrifice. Hereupon arose a Dispute between the *Sieur du Luth* and my self. I commended what they had done, saying, *The Barbarians might judge by it, that we disapprov'd their Superstition*. On the contrary, the *Sieur du Luth* maintain'd, That they ought to have let the things alone in that place where they were, for that the Savages wou'd not fail to revenge the Affront which we had put upon them by this Action, and that it was to be fear'd lest they shou'd pursue and insult us by the Way.

I own he had some grounds for what he said, and that he argu'd according to the Rules of Humane Prudence. But the two Men answer'd him bluntly, that the things fitted them, and therefore they shou'd not trouble their Heads about the Savages, nor their Superstitions. The *Sieur du Luth* fell into so violent a Passion at these Words, that he had like to have

struck the Fellow that spake them; but I got between, and reconcil'd the Matter: For *Picard* and *Michael Ako* began to fide with those that had taken away the things in question, which might have prov'd of ill consequence. I assur'd the *Sieur du Luth*, that the Savages durst not hurt us, for that I was perswaded their Grand Captain *Ouafcoude* wou'd always make our Cause his own, and that we might rely on his Word, and the great Credit he had amongst those of his Nation. Thus the Bufiness was peaceably made up, and we sailed [204] down the River together as good Friends as ever, hunting the Wild-Beasts as we went.

When we were got almost as far as the River *Ouisconsin*, we made a stop, to smoak after the manner of the Country, the Flesh of the Bulls which we had kill'd by the Way. During our stay here, for the Reason aforesaid, three Savages of the same Nation, which we had lately left, came up to us in their Canow, to acquaint us that their Grand Captain *Ouafcoude* having learnt that another Chief of the same Nation had a Design to pursue and murder us, he came into the Cabin where the said Captain and his Associates were consulting about it, and gave him a Blow on the Head with so much Fury, that his Brains flew out upon those that were present at the Consult, resolving by this means effectually to prevent the Execution of his pernicious Design. We regal'd the three Savages for their good News very nobly, having plenty of Provisions at that time.

The *Sieur du Luth*, as soon as the Savages were gone, fell into as great a Passion as before, and seem'd very apprehensive

lest they shou'd still pursue and set upon us in our Voyage. He wou'd have carri'd Matters farther, but that he found our Men wou'd not bate him an Ace, and were not in an Humour to be bulli'd. I took upon me to moderate the Matter once more, and pacifi'd them in the End, by assuring them that God wou'd not leave us in Distress, provided we put our Trust in him, and that he was able to deliver us from all our Enemies.

[205] CHAP. LXVI.

The Sieur du Luth is in a great Consternation at the Appearance of a Fleet of the Savages, who surprized us before we were got into the River Ouifconfin.

THE Sieur *du Luth* had reason to believe that the three Savages but now mention'd were really Spies sent to observe our Actions; for indeed they knew that we had taken away the Robes of Castor from before the Fall of *St. Anthony*. He cou'd not forego his Fears, but told me, we should serve the Fellow that did it but right, if we shou'd force him to carry them back, and leave them in the place where he found them. I foresaw Discord wou'd be our Destruction, and so made my self Mediator of the Peace once more. I appeas'd the Fray, by remonstrating, That God who had preserv'd us hitherto in the greatest Dangers, wou'd have a more peculiar Care of us on this Occasion, because the Man's Action was good in it self.

Two days after, all our Provisions being drefs'd, and fit to keep, we prepar'd to depart: But the Sieur *du Luth* was mightily surpriz'd when he perceiv'd a Fleet of an hundred and forty Canows, carrying about an hundred and fifty Men, bearing down directly upon us. Our Mens Consternation was

no less than the *Sieur's*: But when they saw me take out from amongst our Equipage, a Calumet of Peace which the *Iffati* had given us as a Pledge of their Friendship and Protection, they took Heart, and told me they wou'd act as I shou'd direct.

I order'd two of them to embark with me in a Canow, to meet the Savages: But the *Sieur* desir'd me to take a third to row, that by standing in the [106, *i. e.* 206] middle of the Canow, I might the better show the Pipe of Peace, which I carry'd in my hand, to appease the Barbarians, whose Language I understood indifferently well. The other four of our Men I left with the *Sieur du Luth*, and told them, in case any of the young Warriors shou'd Land, and come up to them, they shou'd by no means discourse or be familiar with them; but that they should keep their Posts with their Arms ready fixt. Having given these Orders, I went into my Canow, to the Barbarians who were a coming down the River in theirs.

Seeing no Chief amongst them, I call'd out as loud as I cou'd, *Ouafcoude*, *Ouafcoude*, repeating his Name several times. At last I perceiv'd him rowing up towards me: All this while none of his People had affronted us, which I look'd upon as a good Omen. I conceal'd my Reed of Peace, the better to let them see how much I rely'd upon their Word. Soon after we landed, and entred the Cabin where the *Sieur du Luth* was, who wou'd have embrac'd their Captain. Here we must observe, that 'tis not the Custom of the Savages to embrace after the manner of the *French*.

I told the *Sieur du Luth* that he need only present him with a piece of the best boyl'd Meat that he had, and that in case he eat of it, we were safe.

It hapned according to our Wish; all the rest of the Captains of this little Army came to visit us. It cost our Folks nothing but a few Pipes of *Martinico*-Tobacco, which these People are passionately fond of, though their own be stronger, more agreeable, and of a much better Scent. Thus the Barbarians were very civil to us, without ever mentioning the Robes of Castor. The Chief *Ouaficoude* advis'd me to present some Pieces of *Martinico* Tobacco to the Chief *Aquipaguetin*, who had adopted me for his Son. This Civility had strange effects upon the [207] Barbarians, who went off shouting, and repeating the Word *Louis*, which, as we said, signifies the *Sun*: So that I must say without Vanity, my Name will be as it were immortal amongst these People, by reason of its jumping so accidentally with that of the Sun.

CHAP. LXVII.

The Author's Voyage from the Mouth of the River Ouisconsin, to the great Bay of the Puans.

THE Savages having left us to go and War upon the *Mefforites*, *Maboras*, *Illinois*, and other Nations, which inhabit towards the lower part of the River *Meschabipi*, and are irreconcilable Enemies to the People of the *North*; the *Sieur du Luth*, who upon many Occasions approv'd himself to be much my Friend, cou'd not forbear telling our People, that I had all the reason in the World to believe that the Viceroy of *Canada* wou'd give me a very kind Reception, in case we cou'd arrive there before Winter; and that he wish'd with all his heart he had been among so many different Nations as my self.

As we went up the River *Ouisconsin*, we found it was as large as that of the *Illinois*, which is navigable for large Vessels above an hundred Leagues. We cou'd not sufficiently admire the Extent of those vast Countries, and the Charming Lands through which we pass'd, which lye all untill'd. The cruel Wars which these Nations have one with another, are the cause that they have not People enough to cultivate them. And the more bloody Wars which have rag'd so long in all parts of *Europe*, have hinder'd the sending Christian

Colonies to settle there. However, I must needs say, that the poorer sort of [208] our Countrymen wou'd do well to think of it, and go and plant themselves in this fine Country, where for a little Pains in tilling the Earth, they wou'd live happier, and subsist much better than they do here. I have seen Lands there, which wou'd yield three Crops in a Year: And the Air is incomparably more sweet and temperate than in *Holland*.

After we had row'd about seventy Leagues upon the River *Ouisconsin*, we came to a Place where we were forc'd to carry our Canow for half a League, which *Ouafcoude* had set down in his Chart.¹ We lay at this place all Night, and left Marks of our having been there, by the Crosses which we cut on the Barks of the Trees. Next Day, having carri'd our Canows and the rest of our little Equipage over this Piece of Land, we entred into a River, which makes almost as many Meanders as that of the *Illinois* doth at its Rise: For after six Hours rowing, which we did very fast, we found our selves, notwithstanding all the Pains we had been at, over-against the Place where we embark'd. One of our Men must needs shoot at a Bird flying, which overset his Canow; but by good luck he was within his depth.

We were forc'd to break several Sluces which the Castors had made for our Canows to pass; otherwise we cou'd not

¹ The narrow portage between the waters of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, at the site of the present Portage, Wis., which lies 145 miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin. Along the old portage-trail has been cut a government ship-canal, which unites the waters of the two rivers.—Ed.

have continued our Way, or carri'd our things to embark them again above these Sluces.

These Creatures make them with so much Art, that Man cannot equal it. We shall speak of them in our *Second Volume*. We found several of these Ponds, or Stops of Water, which these Creatures make with Pieces of Wood, like a Causey.¹

After this we pass'd over four Lakes, which are all made by this River. Here formerly dwelt the *Miamis*; but now the *Maskoutens*, *Kikapous*, and *Outoagamis*, who sow their *Indian Wheat*² here, on [209] which they chiefly subsist. We made some Broath of the Water of a certain Fall, which they call *Kakalin*³; because the Savages come often hither to ease themselves, and lye on their Backs, with their Faces expos'd to the Sun.

Thus having made more than Four hundred Leagues by Water since our departure from the Country of the *Iffati* and *Nadoueffans*, we arriv'd at last at the great Bay of the *Puans*, which makes part of the Lake of the *Illinois*.

¹ For valuable descriptive and historical information concerning the beaver, see Horace F. Martin's *Castorologia* (Montreal, 1892).—ED.

² Indian corn, originally called by European writers "wheat of India, or of Turkey."—ED.

³ The Grand Kakalin, or Kekaling, the name given to the rapids at the present Kaukauna, Wis., which, with the portage around them, formed a noted landmark on the Fox-Wisconsin trade-route between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi. Another but smaller descent in the river is the Little Kakalin, above De Pere.—ED.

CHAP. LXVIII.

The Author and his Company stay some time amongst the Puans. The Original of the Name. They celebrated Mass here, and wintered at Missilimakinak.

WE found many *Canadians* in this Bay of the *Puans*. The Nation that inhabits here, is so call'd, because formerly they dwelt in certain Marshy Places, full of stinking Waters, situate on the *South-Sea*. But being drove out thence by their Enemy, they came and settled in this Bay, which is to the East of the *Illinois*. The *Canadians* were come hither to Trade with the People of this Bay, contrary to an Order of the Viceroy. They had still a little of the Wine left, which they brought with them, and kept in a Pewter Flagon. I made use of it for Mass. Till now, I had nothing but a Chalice, and a Marble Altar, which was pretty light, and very handsomly engrav'd: But here by good Fortune I met with the Sacerdotal Robes too. Some *Illinois* who had happily escap'd their Enemies the *Iroquese*, who had attack'd and almost destroy'd them since my Voyage, and the time that I had been a Slave amongst the Barbarians,¹ had brought with

¹ On September 10, 1680, a large force of Iroquois appeared before the Illinois village which La Salle and Hennepin had earlier visited (see end of chap. xxix). Its inhabitants fled, in fear of this merciless foe; whereupon the Iroquois destroyed the village, and, having deluded the Illinois by a pretended treaty, attacked them,

them the Ornaments of the Chapel of Father *Zenobius Mam-bre*, [210] whom we had left among the *Illinois*. Some of these, I say, who were escap'd to the Place where we were, deliver'd me up all the Ornaments of the Chapel, except the Chalice. They promis'd to get me that too for a little Tobacco, which I was to give them; and were as good as their Word, for they brought it me some few Days after.

'Twas more than nine Months since I had celebrated the Sacrament of the Mass, for want of Wine. We might indeed have done it in our Voyage, had we had Vessels proper to keep Wine in: But we cou'd not charge our Canow with such, being very unfit to carry things of Burden. 'Tis true, we met with Grapes in many Places through which we pass'd, and had made some Wine too, which we put into Gourds; but it fail'd us whilst we were among the *Illinois*, as I have elsewhere observ'd. As for the rest, I had still some Wafers by me, which were as good as ever, having been kept in a Steel-Box shut very close.

We stay'd two Days at the Bay of the *Puans*; where we sung *Te Deum*, and my self said Mass, and Preach'd. Our

capturing nearly all the women and children of the *Tamaroas*, whom they tortured to death with most revolting atrocities. Tonty (who had vainly striven to pacify the *Iroquois*) was compelled, with the two *Récollet* priests and three other Frenchmen, to retreat for safety to *Wisconsin*. After many hardships, they finally reached friendly *Pottawattomies* at *Green Bay*. On the same day when they left the *Illinois* village, Father *Gabriel de la Ribourde* was slain by some prowling savages. See *Hennepin's* account of these episodes (chap. lxxiv-lxxv, *post*). There, and in the *Louisiane* (pp. 306-308), he accuses Tonty of having in panic fear abandoned the aged missionary—a statement which is refuted by the narrative of *Membré*, who was with Tonty at that time; see *Shea's* translation of *Le Clercq's Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 145-147.—ED.

Men prepar'd themselves for the Holy Sacrament, which we receiv'd, in order to render our Thanks to God, who had preserv'd us amidst the many Dangers we had run, the Difficulties we had surmounted, and Monsters we had overcome.

One of our Canow-Men truck'd [*i. e.*, traded] a Fufil with a Savage for a Canow larger than our own, in which, after an hundred Leagues rowing, having coasted all along the great Bay of the *Puans*, we arriv'd at *Missilimakinak*, in the Lake of *Huron*, where we were forc'd to Winter: For our Way lying still North, we shou'd infallibly have perish'd amongst the Ice and Snow, had we proceeded any further.

By the Course we were oblig'd to take, we were still about Four hundred Leagues from *Canada*. Amongst these People, I met, to my no little Satisfaction, [211] Father *Pierfon*, a Jesuit, who is a Son of the King's Receiver for the Town of *Aeth* in *Hainault*.¹ He was come hither to learn their Language, and spoke it then passably well. This *Religious*, who retain'd still the free and open Humour of his Countrymen, had made himself belov'd by his obliging Behaviour, and seem'd to be an utter Enemy of Caballing and Intrigues, having a candid Spirit, generous and sincere. In a word, He appear'd to me to be such as every good Christian ought to be. The Reader may judge how agreeably I pass'd the Win-

¹ Philippe Pierson came to Canada in 1666; he labored among the Hurons at Michillimackinac from 1673 to 1683, and, during the next five years, with the Sioux tribes west of Lake Superior. He died at Quebec in 1688.

It will be noticed that, save for this mention of his compatriot Pierson, Hennepin does not even mention the Jesuit mission at Michillimackinac, or that at Green Bay, both of which had entertained him as a guest.—ED.

ter in such good Company, after the Miseries and Fatigues I had undergone in the Course of our Discoveries.

To make the best use of my time that I cou'd, I Preach'd all the Holy-days and Sundays in *Advent* and *Lent*, for the Edification of our Men, and other *Canadians*, who were come four or five Leagues out of their Country, to Trade for Furrs amongst these Savages: From whence we may observe, that there are some whom I shall forbear to name, who notwithstanding all their pretended Austerities, are yet no less covetous of the Things of this World, than the most Secular Person in it. The *Outtaouaets* and the *Hurons* wou'd often assist at our Ceremonies in a Church cover'd with Rushes and a few Boards, which the *Canadians* had built here: But they came more out of Curiosity than any Design to conform themselves to the Rules of our Holy Religion.

The latter of these Savages would tell us, speaking of our Discoveries, That themselves were but Men; but for us *Europeans*, we must needs be Spirits: That if they had gone so far up amongst strange Nations as we had done, they should have been sure to have been kill'd by them without Mercy; whereas we pass'd every where without danger, and knew how to procure the Friendship of all we met.

During the Winter, we broke Holes in the Ice of the Lake *Huron*, and by means of several large [212] Stones, sunk our Nets sometimes twenty, sometimes twenty five Fathom under Water to catch Fish, which we did in great abundance. We took Salmon-Trouts, which often weigh'd from forty to fifty pounds. These made our *Indian* Wheat

go down the better, which was our ordinary Diet. Our Beverage was nothing but Broth made of Whiteings, which we drank hot; because as it cools it turns to Jelly, as if it had been made of Veal.

During our stay here, Father *Pierfon* and I would often divert our selves on the Ice, where we skated on the Lake as they do in *Holland*. I had learn'd this Slight when I was at *Ghent*, from whence to *Brussels* one may run in three Hours with abundance of Pleasure when the Canal is frozen. 'Tis the usual Diverfion with which the Inhabitants of these two Cities entertain themselves during the Winter, by favour of the Ice.

It must be allow'd, without reflecting on any other Order, That those of St. *Francis* are very proper for the settling of Colonies. They make a strict Vow of Poverty, and have a Property in nothing as their own: They enjoy only a simple Use of Things necessary to Life. Those that give us any Moveables, continue still to be the owners of them, and may take them again at pleasure. 'Tis this Poverty which is recommended to us by many Popes; but above all by our Rule, which is the only one I find inserted in the Canon-Law.

What pass'd at *Miffilimakinak* during this Winter, is a Proof of what I say. Two and forty *Canadians*, who were come hither upon the account of the Trade which they drive here with the Savages, desir'd me to present them with the Cord of St. *Francis*. I compli'd with their Request; and each time I deliver'd a Cord, made a small Harangue by way of Exhortation to the Person receiving it, and then associated

him to the Prayers of the Order. They [213] would have kept me with them, and made me a Settlement, where from time to time they might have resort to me. They promis'd me moreover, since I would accept of no Furr, that they would prevail with the Savages to furnish out my Subsistence in the best manner which could be expected for the Country. But because the greatest part of them that made me this Offer, Traded into these Parts without permission, I gave them to understand, That the Common Good of our Discoveries, ought to be preferr'd before their private Advantages; so desir'd them to excuse me, and permit me to return to *Canada* for a more Publick Good.

CHAP. LXIX.

The Author's Departure from Missilimakinak. He passes two great Lakes. The taking of a Great Bear. Some Particulars relating to the Flesh of that Beast.

WE parted from *Missilimakinak* in *Easter-Week*, 1681, and for twelve or thirteen Leagues together, were oblig'd to draw our Provisions and Canow's after us over the Ice, up the *Lake Huron*, the sides of which continu'd still froze five or six Leagues broad. The Ice being broke, we embark'd, after the Solemnity of the *Quasmodo*,¹ which we had an opportunity to celebrate, having by good Fortune met with a little Wine, which a *Canadian* had brought with him, and serv'd us all the rest of our Voyage. After we had row'd a hundred Leagues all along the sides of the *Lake Huron*, we pass'd the Streights, which are thirty Leagues through, and the *Lake of St. Claire*, which is in the middle: Thence we arriv'd at the *Lake Erie*, or of the *Cat*, where we staid some time to kill Sturgeon, which come here in great numbers, to cast their Spawn on the [214] side of the Lake. We took nothing but the Belly of the Fish, which is the most delicious part, and threw away the rest.

This Place afforded also plenty of Venison and Fowl. As

¹ The Sunday next after Easter; also called "Low Sunday" and "White Sunday."—ED.

we were standing in the Lake, upon a large Point of Land which runs it self very far into the Water, we perceiv'd a Bear in it as far as we could see. We could not imagine how this Creature got there; 'twas very improbable that he shou'd swim from one side to t'other, that was thirty or forty Leagues over. It hapned to be very calm; and so two of our Men leaving us on the Point, put off to attack the Bear, that was near a quarter of a League out in the Lake. They made two Shot at him one after another, otherwise the Beast had certainly funk them. As soon as they had fir'd, they were forc'd to sheer off as fast as they could to charge again; which when they had done, they return'd to the Attack. The Bear was forc'd to stand it; and it cost them no less than seven Shot before they could compass him.

As they were endeavouring to get him aboard, they were like to have been over-set; which if they had, they must have been infallibly lost: All they could do was to fasten him to the Bar that is in the middle of the Canow, and so drag him on Shoar; which they did at last with much ado, and great hazard of their Lives. We had all the leisure that was requisite for the dressing and ordering him, so as to make him keep; and in the mean time took out his Intrails, and having cleans'd and boil'd them, eat heartily of them. These are as good a Dish as those of our Sucking-Pigs in *Europe*. His Flesh serv'd us the rest of our Voyage, which we usually eat with lean Goats-flesh, because it is too fat to eat by it self: So that we liv'd for an hundred Leagues upon the Game that we kill'd in this Place.

[215] CHAP. LXX.

The Meeting of the Author and a certain Captain of the Outtaouaëts, nam'd Talon by the Intendant of that Name, upon the Lake of Erie; who recounts to him many Adventures of his Family and Nation. Further Observations upon the Great Fall or Cataracts of Niagara.

THERE was a certain Captain of the *Outtaouaëts*, to whom the Intendant *Talon*¹ gave his own Name, whilst he was at *Quebec*. He us'd to come often to that City with those of his Nation, who brought Furs thither: We were strangely surpriz'd at the sight of this Man, whom we found almost famish'd, and more like a Skeleton than a living Man. He told us the Name of *Talon* would be soon extinct in this Country, since he resolv'd not to survive the Loss of six of his Family who had been starved to Death. He added, That the Fishery and Chace had both fail'd this Year, which was the occasion of this sad Disaster.

He told us moreover, That though the *Iroquese* were not in War with his Nation, yet had they taken and carri'd into Slavery an entire Family of Twelve Souls. He begg'd very

¹ Jean Baptiste Talon was intendant of Canada from 1663 to 1675 (except during 1668-69). He displayed in this office great honesty and executive ability, and did much to promote exploration, and the development of the country's natural resources.—ED.

earnestly of me, that I would use my utmost Endeavours to have them releas'd, if they were yet alive; and gave me two Necklaces of Black and White Porcelain, that I might be sure not to neglect a Business which he laid so much to heart. *I can rely upon thee, Bare-foot, (for so they always call'd us) and am confident that the Iroquese will hearken to thy Reasons sooner than any ones. Thou didst often advise them at their Councils, which were held then at the Fort of Katarockoui, where thou hast caus'd a great Cabin to be built. Had I been at my Village when thou cam'st through it, I would have done all that I could to have kept [216] thee, instead of the Black Coat (so they call the Jesuites) which was there.* When the poor Captain had done speaking, I solemnly promis'd him to use my utmost Interest with the *Iroquese*, for the releasement of his Friends.

After we had row'd above an hundred and forty Leagues upon the Lake *Erie*, by reason of the many Windings of the Bays and Creeks which we were forc'd to coast, we pass'd by the Great Fall of *Niagara*, and spent half a Day in considering the Wonders of that prodigious Cascade.

I could not conceive how it came to pass, that four great Lakes, the least of which is 400 Leagues in compass, should empty themselves one into another, and then all centre and discharge themselves at this Great Fall, and yet not drown good part of *America*. What is yet more surprizing, the Ground from the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, down to the Great Fall, appears almost level and flat. 'Tis scarce discernable that there is the least Rise or Fall for six Leagues together: The

more than ordinary swiftness of the Stream, is the only thing that makes it be observ'd. And that which makes it yet the stranger is, That for two Leagues together below the Fall, towards the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, the Lands are as level as they are above it towards the Lake of *Erie*.

Our Surprise was still greater, when we observ'd there were no Mountains within two good Leagues of this Cascade; and yet the vast quantity of Water which is discharg'd by these four fresh Seas, stops or centers here, and so falls above six hundred Foot down into a Gulph, which one cannot look upon without Horror. Two other great Out-lets, or Falls of Water, which are on the two sides of a small sloping Island, which is in the midst, fall gently and without noise, and so glide away quietly enough: But when this prodigious quantity of Water, of which I speak, comes to fall, there is such a din, and such [217] a noise, that is more deafning than the loudest Thunder.

The rebounding of these Waters is so great, that a sort of Cloud arises from the Foam of it, which are seen hanging over this Abyss even at Noon-day, when the Sun is at its heighth. In the midst of Summer, when the Weather is hottest, they arise above the tallest Firrs, and other great Trees, which grow in the slooping Island which make the two Falls of Waters that I spoke of.

I wish'd an hundred times that somebody had been with us, who could have describ'd the Wonders of this prodigious frightful Fall, so as to give the Reader a just and natural Idea of it, such as might satisfy him, and create in him an Admira-

tion of this Prodigy of Nature as great as it deserves. In the mean time, accept the following Draught, such as it is; in which however I have endeavour'd to give the curious Reader as just an Image of it as I could.

We must call to mind what I observ'd of it in the beginning of my Voyage, which is to be seen in the Seventh Chapter of this Book. From the Mouth of the Lake *Erie* to the Great Fall, are reckon'd six Leagues, as I have said, which is the continuation of the Great River of *St. Lawrence*, which arises out of the four Lakes above-mention'd. The River, you must needs think, is very rapid for these six Leagues, because of the vast Discharge of Waters which fall into it out of the said Lakes. The Lands, which lie on both sides of it to the East and West, are all level from the Lake *Erie* to the Great Fall. Its Banks are not steep; on the contrary, the Water is almost always level with the Land. 'Tis certain, that the Ground towards the Fall is lower, by the more than ordinary swiftness of the Stream; and yet 'tis not perceivable to the Eye for the six Leagues abovesaid.

After it has run thus violently for six Leagues, it [218] meets with a small sloping Island, about half a quarter of a League long, and near three hundred Foot broad, as well as one can guess by the Eye; for it is impossible to come at it in a Canow or Bark, the Waters run with that force. The Isle is full of Cedar and Firr; but the Land of it lies no higher than that on the Banks of the River. It seems to be all level, even as far as the two great Cascades that make the Main Fall.

The two fides of the Channels, which are made by the Isle, and run on both fides of it, overflow almost the very Surface of the Earth of the said Isle, as well as the Land that lies on the Banks of the River to the East and West, as it runs South and North. But we must observe, that at the end of the Isle, on the side of the two great Falls, there is a slooping Rock which reaches as far as the Great Gulph, into which the said Waters fall; and yet the Rock is not at all wetted by the two Cascades which fall on both fides, because the two Torrents which are made by the Isle, throw themselves with a prodigious force, one towards the East, and the other towards the West, from off the end of the Isle, where the Great Fall of all is.

After then these two Torrents have thus run by the two fides of the Isle, they cast their Waters all of a sudden down into the Gulph by two Great Falls; which Waters are push'd so violently on by their own Weight, and so sustain'd by the swiftness of the motion, that they don't wet the Rock in the least. And here it is that they tumble down into an Abyss above 600 Foot in depth.

The Waters that flow on the side of the East, do not throw themselves with that violence as those that fall on the West. The reason is, because the Rock at the end of the Island, rises something more on this side, than it does on the West; and so the Waters being supported by it somewhat longer than [219] they are on the other side, are carry'd the smoother off: But on the West the Rock slooping more, the Waters, for want of a Support, become the sooner broke,

and fall with the greater precipitation. Another reason is, the Lands that lie on the West are lower than those that lie on the East. We also observ'd, that the Waters of the Fall, that is to the West, made a sort of a square Figure as they fell, which made a third Cascade, less than the other two, which fell betwixt the South and North.

And because there is a rising Ground which lies before those two Cascades to the North, the Gulph is much larger there than to the East. Moreover, we must observe, that from the rising Ground that lies over against the two last Falls which are on the West of the main Fall, one may go down as far as the bottom of this terrible Gulph. The Author of this Discovery was down there, the more narrowly to observe the Fall of these prodigious Cascades. From hence we could discover a Spot of Ground, which lay under the Fall of Water which is to the East, big enough for four Coaches to drive a breast without being wet; but because the Ground, which is to the East of the sloping Rock, where the first Fall empties it self into the Gulph, is very steep, and almost perpendicular, 'tis impossible for a Man to get down on that side, into the Place where the four Coaches may go a-breast, or to make his way through such a quantity of Water as falls towards the Gulph: So that 'tis very probable, that to this dry Place it is that the Rattle-Snakes retire, by certain Passages which they find under ground.

From the end then of this Island it is, that these two Great Falls of Waters, as also the third but now mention'd, throw themselves, after a most surprizing manner, down into a dread-

ful Gulph fix hundred Foot and more in depth. I have already said, that the Waters which Discharge themselves at the [220] Cascade to the East, fall with lesser force; whereas those to the West tumble all at once, making two Cascades; one moderate, the other very violent and strong, which at last make a kind of Crochet, or square Figure, falling from South to North, and West to East. After this, they rejoin the Waters of the other Cascade that falls to the East, and so tumble down altogether, though unequally, into the Gulph, with all the violence that can be imagin'd, from a Fall of six hundred Foot, which makes the most Beautiful, and at the same time most Frightful Cascade in the World.

After these Waters have thus discharg'd themselves into this dreadful Gulph, they begin to resume their Course, and continue the great River of *St. Lawrence* for two Leagues, as far as the three Mountains which are on the East of the River, and the great Rock which is on the West, and lifts it self three Fathoms above the Waters, or thereabouts. The Gulph into which these Waters are discharg'd, continues it self thus two Leagues together, between a Chain of Rocks, flowing with a prodigious Torrent, which is bridled and kept in by the Rocks that lie on each side of the River.

Into this Gulph it is, that these several Cascades empty themselves, with a violence equal to the height from whence they fall, and the quantity of Waters, which they discharge. Hence arise those deafning Sounds, that dreadful roaring and bellowing of the Waters which drown the loudest Thunder,

as also the perpetual Mists that hang over the Gulph, and rise above the tallest Pines that are in the little Isle so often mention'd. After a Channel is again made at the bottom of this dreadful Fall by the Chain of Rocks, and fill'd by that prodigious quantity of Waters which are continually falling, the River of *St. Lawrence* resumes its Course: But with that violence, and his Waters beat against the [221] Rocks with so prodigious a force, that 'tis impossible to pass even in a Canow of Bark, though in one of them a Man may venture safe enough upon the most rapid Streams, by keeping close to the Shoar.

These Rocks, as also the prodigious Torrent, last for two Leagues; that is, from the great Fall, to the three Mountains and great Rock: But then it begins insensibly to abate, and the Land to be again almost on a level with the Water; and so it continues as far as the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*.

When one stands near the Fall, and looks down into this most dreadful Gulph, one is seized with Horror, and the Head turns round, so that one cannot look long or stedfastly upon it. But this vast Deluge beginning insensibly to abate, and even to fall to nothing about the three Mountains, the Waters of the River *St. Lawrence* begin to glide more gently along, and to be almost upon a level with the Lands; so that it becomes navigable again, as far as the Lake *Frontenac*, over which we pass to come to the New Canal, which is made by the discharge of its Waters. Then we enter again upon the River *St. Lawrence*, which not long after makes

that which they call the *Long Fall*, an hundred Leagues from *Niagara*.¹

I have often heard talk of the Cataracts of the *Nile*, which make the People deaf that live near them. I know not whether the *Iroquefe*, who formerly inhabited near this Fall, and liv'd upon the Beasts which from time to time are born down by the violence of its Torrent, withdrew themselves from its Neighbourhood, lest they should likewise become deaf; or out of the continual fear they were in of Rattle-Snakes, which are very common in this Place during the great Heats, and lodge in Holes all along the Rocks as far as the Mountains, which lie two Leagues lower.

Be it as it will, these dangerous Creatures are to [222] be met with as far as the Lake *Frontenac*, on the South-side; but because they are never to be seen but in the midst of Summer, and then only when the Heats are excessive, they are not so afraid of them here as elsewhere. However, 'tis reasonable to presume, that the horrid noise of the Fall, and the fear of these poisonous Serpents, might oblige the Savages to seek out a more commodious Habitation.

Having carry'd our Canow from the Great Fall of *Niagara*, as far as the three Mountains, which are two Leagues below, in all which Way we perceiv'd never a Snake; we proceeded in our Voyage, and arriv'd at the Lake of *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*.

¹The Long Sault of the St. Lawrence, situated above Cornwall, Ont., nearly opposite the boundary line between New York and Quebec. Navigation past these rapids is made practicable by the Cornwall Canal.—ED.

CHAP. LXXI.

The Author sets out from the Fort which is at the Mouth of the River Niagara, and obliges the Iroquefe assembl'd in Council, to deliver up the Slaves they had made of the Outtaouacts.

WE met none of the Savages in the little Village of the *Iroquefe*, which is near the Mouth of the River *Niagara*; for they sow there but very little *Indian Corn*; and inhabit the Village but in Harvest-time, or in the Season they go a fishing for Sturgeons, or Whiteings which are there in great plenty. We thought also we should find some *Canadians* at the Fort of the River which we had begun to build, at the beginning of our Discovery: But these Forts were only built for a Show, to cover the secret Trade of Furs, and countenance the great Hopes *M. de la Salle* had given to the *French Court*.

It must be granted, that such Discoveries are beyond any private Mens Power, and they must be [223] countenanc'd by a Sovereign Authority, to be successful. Therefore *M. de la Salle* had got the *French Court's* Protection; but instead of making a good use of it for the publick Good, he did chiefly aim at his own private Interest, and for that reason neglected a great many things necessary to carry on his

Enterprize. The Fort of the River of *Niagara* was become a deserted Place, and might have serv'd to countenance his Design. We came along the Southern Coasts of the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*; and after having sail'd thirty Leagues, we arriv'd about *Whitsuntide* in the Year 1681, at the great Village of the *Tsonnontouans* [Senecas] *Iroquefe*.

The Savages came to meet us, repeating often this Word *Otchitagon*, meaning by it, that the *Bare-foot* was return'd from the great Voyage he had undertook, to visit the Nations that are beyond the River *Hobio* and *Meschafipi*; and though our Faces were burnt by the Sun, and my Clothes patch'd up with wild Bull-Skins, yet they knew me, and carry'd me with my two Men into one of their Officer's Cottages.

They did call their Council, which met to the number of Thirty, or thereabouts, wearing their Gowns in a stately manner, made up with all sorts of Skins, twist'd about their Arms, with the *Calumet* in their Hands. They gave order that we shou'd be entertain'd according to their own Fashion, while they did smoak without eating.

After we had done eating, I told them by a *Canadian* that was my Interpreter, that their Warriors had brought 12 *Outtaouaets* as Slaves, though they were their Confederates and *Onontio*'s Friends, ('tis the Name they give to the Viceroy of *Canada*) breaking thereby the Peace, and proclaiming War against *Canada*: And the better to oblige them to deliver up to us the *Outtaouaets*, who by good Fortune were still alive,

we flung in the middle of the Assembly two Collars of Porcelain, that Captain [224] *Talon* had given us; This is the only way among them, to enter upon any Affair.

The next day the Council met, and the *Iroquefe* answer'd me with some other Collars of Porcelain; and told me, That those who had made these Men Slaves, were young Warriors without Consideration; That we might assure *Onontio*, (who was then Count *Frontenac*) that their Nation wou'd always respect him in all things; That they shou'd live with him as true Children with their Father, and that they wou'd deliver up the Men who had been taken.

Teganeot, one of the chiefeft, who spoke for the whole Nation in the Council, presented me with some Skins of Otter, Martin, and Bever, to the value of thirty Crowns. I took his Present with one Hand, and deliver'd it with the other to his Son, whom he lov'd tenderly. I told him, That I made him that Present, that he might Exchange it with some Merchandizes of *Europe*; and that the *Bare-feet* will accept of no Present at all, not out of Contempt, but because we are disinterested in all things; assuring him, I would acquaint the Governor with his Friendship.

The *Iroquefe* was surpriz'd that I did not accept of his Present; and seeing besides, that I gave a little Looking-Glass to his Son, he said to those of his Nation, that the other *Canadians* were not of that Temper: And they sent us several Fowls, as an acknowledgment of their Gratitude for the care we took, to teach their Children some Prayers in

their own Tongue. After the Promises the Savages gave us to live in good correspondency with us, we took our leave of them, and got our selves ready, in order to continue our Voyage.

[225] CHAP. LXXII.

The Author sets out from the Tionnontouans Iroquese, and comes to Fort Frontenac.

I MUST confess it is a great Pleasure for one to come out of Slavery, or the Hands of Savages, and to reflect upon past Miseries; especially when he returns among Friends, to rest himself after so many Hardships and Troubles.

We had still about Fourscore Leagues to go upon the Lake Ontario, before we cou'd arrive at Fort Catarokoui, or Frontenac; but we were all the Way very merry. I had help'd Picard du Gay and Michael Ako, my Fellow-Travellers, with some Skins, to make amends for the Hardship and Pains they suffer'd in that Voyage. We had much ado to row off our Canow, it being much bigger than that we made use of when we set out from the Iffati and Nadouessians; but nevertheless we came in four Days to the Fort, and kill'd in our way some Bustards and Teals. We wanted then neither Powder nor Shot, and therefore we shot at random all that we met, either small Birds, or Turtles, and Wood-Pigeons, which were then coming from Foreign Countries in so great Numbers, that they did appear in the Air like Clouds.

I observ'd upon this Occasion, and many other times during our Voyage, a thing worthy of Admiration: The

Birds that were flying at the Head of the others, keep often back, to ease and help those among them that are tir'd; which may be a Lesson to Men to help one another in time of need. Father *Luke Buisset*, and Sergeant *la Fleur*, who had the Command in the Fort in the Absence of M. *la Salle*, receiv'd us in the House of our Order, that we had built together.

[226] They were much surpriz'd to see us, having been told that the Savages had hang'd me with St. *Francis's* Rope two Years ago. All the Inhabitants of *Canada*, and the Savages that we had encourag'd to live near Fort *Frontenac*, to Till the Ground, made me an extraordinary Reception, and shew'd much Joy to see me again. The Savages put their Hand upon their Mouth, and repeated often this Word, *Otkon*, meaning, That the *Bare-foot* must be a Spirit, having travell'd so far, through so many Nations that wou'd have kill'd them, if they had been there. Tho' we were kindly us'd in this Fort, yet my Men had a great Mind to return into *Canada*; and having escap'd so many Dangers together, I was willing to make an End of the Voyage with them; therefore we took leave of Father *Luke Buisset*, and of all our Friends that liv'd in that Fort, and went for *Quebec*.

CHAP. LXXIII.

The Author sets out from Fort Frontenac, and passes over the rapid Stream, which is call'd The Long Fall. He is kindly receiv'd at Montreal by Count Frontenac.

WE set out from the Fort sooner than I thought, not being able to keep any longer my Men, and in our Way took a more exact View of the Mouth of the Lake Ontario, or *Frontenac*. This Place is call'd *Thousand Islands*, because there are so many of them, that 'tis impossible to tell them. The Stream is here very rapid; but its Swiftnefs is prodigiously increas'd, by the great Quantity of Waters that come from the other Lakes abovemention'd, and a great many Rivers that run into this, in the Place call'd, *The Long Fall*, which makes it as dreadful as the great Fall of *Niagara*.

[227] But besides this great Quantity of Waters, and the Declivity of the Channel, which makes the Current so rapid, there are also on the Banks, and in the middle of the River of *St. Laurence*, about eight or Ten Leagues below the said Lake, great Rocks, which appear above Water, which stopping the Stream of the River, makes as great a Noise as the great Fall of *Niagara*.

This dreadful Encounter of Water that beats so furiously against these Rocks, continues about two Leagues, the Waters

spurt up ten or twelve Yards high, and appear like huge Snow-Balls, Hail, and Rain, with dreadful Thunder, and a Noise like Hissing and Howling of Fierce Beasts: And I do certainly believe, that if a Man continued there a considerable time, he wou'd become Deaf, without any Hope of Cure.

My Men refusing to carry by Land the Canow, and the Skins they had got, I was forc'd to adventure with them; which I did willingly, having formerly pass'd these Streams in a Canow: I trusted my self again to the same GOD who had deliver'd me from so many great Dangers. The Stream is so rapid, that we cou'd not tell the Trees that were on the Bank, and yet there was hardly room for our Canow to pass between the Rocks. We were carri'd away by these horrid Currents above two great Leagues in a very short time; and in two Days we came from *Frontenac* to *Montreal*, which are about Threescore Leagues distant one from another. Before our landing at *Montreal*, my Men desir'd me to leave them with the Skins in a neighbouring Island, to save some Duties, or rather to keep off from M. *la Salle's* Creditors, who wou'd have seiz'd the Commodities they had got in their long Voyage with me in our great Discovery.

[228] Count *Frontenac*, who was at *Montreal*, looking out of a Window, saw me alone in a Canow, and took me for Father *Luke Fillatre*, one of our *Recolleſts*, who serv'd him as Chaplain. But one of his Guards, knowing me again, went to him, and acquainted him with my coming; he was so kind as to come to meet me, and made me the best Reception that a Missionary might expect from a Person of that Rank

and Quality. He thought I had been murther'd by the Savages two Years ago. He was at first surpriz'd, thinking I was some other *Recolleſt* that came from *Virginia*: But at laſt he knew me, and gave me a very kind Entertainment.

This Lord did wonder to ſee me ſo much alter'd, being lean, tir'd, and tann'd, having loſt my Cloak that the *Iffati* had ſtoll'n from me, being then cloath'd in an old Habit, patch'd up with pieces of wild Bulls-Skins. He carri'd me to his own Houſe, where I continu'd for twelve Days to reſreſh my ſelf. He forbid all his Servants to give me any thing to eat, without his expreſs Order, becauſe he was afraid I ſhou'd fall ſick if I was left to my own Diſcretion, to eat as much as I wou'd after ſo long Hardſhips; and he gave me himſelf what he thought was beſt.

He was much pleas'd to hear me talk of all the Hazards I had run in ſo long a Voyage among ſo many different Nations. I repreſented to him what great Advantages might be got by our Diſcovery: But having obſerv'd that he was always repeating the ſame Queſtions he aſk'd me the firſt Day I was with him, I told him I had acquainted him with what I knew; and that I did not queſtion but M. *la Salle*, who was to go to the Court of *France* about his Affairs, had acquainted him with all the Particulars of our Voyage, having been in our Company till he was forc'd to leave us to return into *Canada*.

[229] I knew that M. *la Salle* was a Man that wou'd never forgive me, if I had told all that I knew of our Voyage; therefore I kept ſecret the whole Diſcovery we had

made of the River *Meschafipi*. My Men were as much concern'd as I, in concealing our Voyage; for they had been certainly punish'd for having undertaken it against Orders; and the Skins they had got in their return from the *Iffati* with M. *du Luth*, who did stay for that reason among the *Outtaouaëts*, had likewise been confiscated.¹

Count *Frontenac* shew'd me in private a Letter M. *du Luth* had sent him by a *Huron*, who liv'd in the Neighbourhood of the *Outtaouaëts*, by which he acquainted him, he cou'd never learn any thing about our Voyage, neither from me, nor from the Men who attended me. I cou'd not forbear then to tell him, that M. *du Luth* was not so much devoted to his Service as he thought; and that I might assure him that some Men that were his Opponents, had stopp'd M. *du Luth*'s Mouth; and that I was fully persuaded he had been sent by them with a secret Order, to pump me; but I was bound by my Character, and in Charity, to spare those Men, tho' on many Occasions they had not dealt so justly with me; but I was willing to leave all to God, who *will render to every one according to his Works*.

Francis de Laval, the first Lord Bishop of *Quebec*, came along the River *St. Laurence*, to make his Visitation, while I

¹ All these statements refer to the restrictions imposed on the colonists of Canada in the fur trade, — which was a monopoly, granted successively to various commercial companies, — and the consequent illegal traffic carried on by them. Du Luth and many others of his class were known as *coureurs de bois* ("wood-rangers"); they traded with the Indians for peltries, which they shipped to the English and Dutch at Albany as well as to the French at Montreal, and remained in the wilderness, outside the reach of Canadian officials — who were often accused of collusion, and even of private partnership, with the *coureurs de bois*. — Ed.

was coming to *Quebec* with the Lord *Frontenac*. We met him near Fort *Champlain*,¹ which had been fortifi'd, to put a Stop to the Inroads of the *Iroquese*: The Lord *Frontenac* ask'd me, if I had got an Ague; and then looking upon those that attended him, he said, that the feeling of the Pulse increas'd the Fever; insinuating to me thereby, that there was a Design laid against me, to get out cunningly what I kept secret in my Heart.

[230] After a short Conversation with the Bishop, I ask'd his Episcopal Blessing, tho' I did not think fit to reveal to him all that I knew of our Discoveries. We were going to discourse more largely upon this Subject, when the Lord *Frontenac* came in, to invite the Bishop to Dine with him, and thereby to give me an opportunity to put an end to our Conversation.

I was much puzzl'd in the Company of these two Great Men, the Bishop was the Chief of the Company; but I was yet to pay a great Respect to the Lord *Frontenac*. I did avoid talking of Matters that might be troublesome to me; and I told the Bishop, that the Lord *Frontenac* had prescrib'd me a Course of Diet, lest I shou'd fall sick, after all the Hardships I had endur'd, and the bad Food I fed upon among the Savages; therefore I desir'd him to give me leave to return to *Quebec*, that I might live there in private; for I was not able then to Catechise the Children, nor to perform any Functions of a Missionary in his Visitation; and that I wanted

¹ Apparently a reference to Fort Ste. Anne, which was built about 1666 at the entrance to Lake Champlain, by La Mothe, afterward La Salle's lieutenant.—ED.

some Rest, that I might work more vigorously afterwards. By these Means I avoided a Conversation with the Bishop, that wou'd have prov'd very troublesome, to me; for he gave me leave to retire to our Monastery, to rest there after all my Fatigues.

[231] CHAP. LXXIV.

A great Defeat of the Illinois, that were attack'd and surpriz'd by the Iroquefe.

WHILE I was resting after my great Labours, the Lord *Frontenac* did receive Letters from Father *Zenobe Mambre*, whom I left among the *Illinois*. He sent him Word, that the *Iroquefe* had drawn the *Miamis* into their Party; and that being join'd together, they had form'd a great Army, and were fall'n on a sudden upon the *Illinois*, to destroy that Nation; and that they were got together to the number of Nine hundred, all Fusiliers; these two Nations being well provided with Guns, and all sort of Ammunitions of War, by the Commerce they have with the *Europeans*.

The *Iroquefe* were projecting this Enterprize about the 12th of *September*, 1680, while I was about the Discovery of the River *Meschasipi*. The *Illinois* did not mistrust them; for they had concluded a Treaty of Peace with these two Nations; and M. *la Salle* had assur'd them, that he wou'd do his utmost Endeavours to oblige them to observe the Treaty; therefore the *Illinois* were easily surpriz'd, having sent most part of their Youth to make War in another Country.

A *Chaouanon*, Confederate to the *Illinois*, returning from their Country home, came back again, to give them notice

that he had discover'd an Army of *Iroquefe* and *Miamis*, who were already enter'd into their Country on purpofe to furprize them.

This News frighted the *Illinois*; yet the next Day they appear'd in the Field, and march'd directly to the Enemy; and as foon as they were in fight, they charg'd them. The Fight was very fharp, [232] and a great many Men were kill'd on both fides.

M. *Tonti*, whom M. *la Salle* had left in the Fort of *Crevecœur*, to command there in his Abfence, hearing of this Irruption, was in fear for the *Illinois*'s fake; for though their Army was more numerous than that of their Enemy, yet they had no Guns; therefore he offer'd himfelf to go *Askenon*, that is *Mediator*, carrying the *Calumet* of Peace in his Hand, in order to bring them to an Agreement.

The *Iroquefe* finding more refiftance than they thought at firft, and feeing that the *Illinois* were refolv'd to continue the War, confented to a Treaty of Peace, accepting Mr. *Tonti*'s Mediation, and hearken'd to the Propofals he made them from the *Illinois*, who had chofen him for Mediator.

M. *Tonti* reprefented to them, that the *Illinois* were *Onontio*'s ('tis the Name they give to the Viceroy of *Canada*) Children and Confederates as well as themfelves; and that it wou'd be very unpleafant to him, who lov'd them all, to hear that they had begun the War; therefore he earneftly intreated them to return home, and trouble the *Illinois* no further, feeing they had religiously obferv'd the Treaty of Peace.

These Proposals did not please some of the young *Iroquefe*, who had a great mind to fight, and therefore charg'd on a sudden M. *Tonti* and his Men with several Shots; and a desperate young Fellow of the Country of *Onnontaghe*, gave him a Wound with a Knife, near the Heart; but by chance a Rib warded off the Stroke: Several others did fall upon him, and wou'd take him away; but one taking notice of his Hat, and that his Ears were not bor'd, knew thereby that he was not an *Illinois*, and for that reason an old Man cry'd out, That they shou'd [233] spare him; and flung to him a Collar of Porcelain, meaning thereby to make him Satisfaction for the Blood he had lost, and the Wound he had receiv'd.

A young Man of the *Iroquefe's* Crew, took M. *Tonti's* Hat, and hung it on his Gun, to fright the *Illinois* therewith; who thinking by that Signal that *Tonti*, Father *Zenobe*, and all the *Europeans* that were in his Company, had been kill'd by the *Iroquefe*, were so much surpriz'd and disquieted with that horrid Attempt, that they fanci'd themselves deliver'd up into the Hands of their Enemies, and were upon running away: Yet the *Iroquefe* having made a Signal to Father *Zenobe* to draw near, that they might confer with him about the means to prevent both Armies to come to fight, they receiv'd the *Calumet* of Peace, and made a Motion as if they had a mind to withdraw: But the *Illinois* were hardly come to their Village, before that they saw the *Iroquefe's* Army appearing upon some Hills, which were over-against them.

This Motion oblig'd Father *Zenobe*, at the *Illinois's* Re-

quest, to go to them to know the reason of a Proceeding so contrary to what they had done in accepting of the *Calumet* of Peace. But that Embassy did not please those Barbarians, who wou'd not lose so fair an Opportunity. Father *Zenobe* did run the hazard of being murther'd by these unmerciful Men; yet the same God who had preserv'd many of our Fellow-Missionaries in the like Encounters, and my self in this Discovery, kept him from the Hand of these furious Men. He was a Man of a short Stature, but very couragious, and went boldly among the *Iroquese*, who receiv'd him very civilly.

They told him, that the Want they were reduc'd to, had forc'd them to this new Step, having no Provisions for their Army, and their great Number having driven away the Wild-Bulls from that Country. [234] Father *Zenobe* brought their Answer to the *Illinois*, who presently sent them some *Indian* Corn, and all things necessary for their Subsistence, and propos'd to them a Treaty of Commerce, having in that Country a great plenty of Beaver's Skins and other Furrs.

The *Iroquese* accepted of these Proposals; they did exchange Hostages, and Father *Zenobe* went into their Camp, and did lie there, to lose no time to bring all Matters to an Agreement, and conclude a Treaty between them. But the *Iroquese* repairing in great Numbers into the Quarters of the *Illinois*, who suspected no ill Design, they advanc'd as far as their Village, where they waded the *Mausoleums* that they us'd to raise to their Dead, which are commonly seven or eight Foot high: They spoil'd the *Indian* Corn that was sown;

and having deceiv'd the *Illinois*, under a false pretence of Peace, fortifi'd themselves in their Village.

In this Confusion the *Iroquese* join'd with the *Miamis*, carri'd away eight hundred *Illinois* Women and Children; and their Fury went so far, that these *Antropophages* did eat some Old Men of that Nation, and burnt some others who were not able to follow them, and so return'd with the Slaves they had made, to their own Habitations, which were four hundred Leagues off the Country they had so cruelly plunder'd.

Upon the first News of the Approach of the *Iroquese*, the *Illinois* had sent most part of their Families to the other side of a little Hill, to secure them from their Fury, and that they might get over the River *Meschasipi*; and the others that were fit for War, did flock together on the Tops of the Hills that were near their Habitations, and then went to the other side of the River, to look after their Families, and provide for their Subsistence.

[235] After this perfidious Expedition, these Barbarians wou'd fain alledge some Pretences to excuse their Treachery, and wou'd persuade our Fathers to retire from the *Illinois's* Country, since they were all fled away; and that there was no likelihood they shou'd want them for the future to teach them their Prayers, as the *Affentatfi*, or the Black-Gowns do in their Countries, meaning the Jesuits whom they call by that Name. They told Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe*, that they should do better to return into *Canada*, and that they would attempt nothing against the Life of the Children of *Onontio*,

Governor of *Canada*, desiring to have a Letter under their Hand, to shew it as a Testimony of their honest proceeding in this occasion, and assuring them that they would no more stand by their Enemies.

Our two Fathers being so forsaken by their Hosts, and finding themselves expos'd to the Fury of a Cruel and Victorious Enemy, resolv'd to return home, according to the *Iroquese* Advice; and being suppli'd by them with a Canow, they embark'd for *Canada*.¹

¹ This action was taken by mutual consent of not only the two priests, but of Tonty and the three other Frenchmen who accompanied him; see Membre's account (Shea's translation of *Le Clercq*, ii, p. 145).—ED.

CHAP. LXXVII [*i. e.*, LXXV].

*The Savages Kikapoux murder Father Gabriel de la Ribourde,
a Recollet Missionary.*

GOD has given me the Grace to be insensible of the Wrong I have suffer'd from my Enemies, and to be thankful for the Kindnesses I have receiv'd from my Friends. But if ever I had reason to be thankful to those that have taken care of my Instruction, certainly I must confess it was to this Good Father *Gabriel*, who was my Master during my Novitiate in the Monastery of our Order at *Bethune*, in the Province of *Artois*; therefore I [236] think, that I am bound in Duty to mention so Honest a Man in this Relation of my Discovery, especially having had so sad a Share therein, as to be murder'd by the Savages *Kikapoux*, as I will relate it.

It must be observ'd, That M. *Tonti* could stay no longer at Fort *Crèveœur*, after the *Illinois* Defeat¹; therefore he desir'd Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe* to get, with two young Boys that were left there, into a Canow, and return into *Canada*. All the rest of the Inhabitants had deserted that Country since that unfortunate Accident, by the Suggestion

¹ This must be an oversight on Hennepin's part; for Fort Crèveœur had been plundered and deserted in March of that same year, by the French who had been left by La Salle as its garrison. Tonty was in the Illinois village near Utica, at the time of its destruction by the Iroquois.—ED.

of some Men of *Canada*, who were the Predominant *Genius* of the Country, who had flatter'd them with great Hopes, to oblige them to forsake M. *de la Salle's* Design.

Our said Fathers being so forc'd to leave that Country after such a Defeat, embark'd the 18th of *September* following, wanting all sorts of Provisions, except what they could kill with their Guns; but being arriv'd about eight Leagues from the *Illinois*, their Canow touching upon a Rock, let in Water, and so were forc'd to land about Noon to mend it.

While they were about careening the same, Father *Gabriel*, charm'd with the fine Meadows, the little Hills, and the pleasant Groves in that Country, which are dispers'd at such distances, that they look as if they had been planted on purpose to adorn the Country, went so far into those Woods, that he lost his Way. At Night Father *Zenobe* went to look after him, as also the rest of the Company; for he was generally lov'd by all that knew him. But M. *Tonti* was suddenly seiz'd with panick Fears, thinking that every moment the *Iroquese* wou'd fall upon him: So that he sent for Father *Zenobe*, and forc'd all his Men to retire into the Canow, and so got over the River on the *Illinois-side*, and left [237] the Old Father expos'd to the Barbarians Insults, without any respect to his Age, or to his Personal Merits.

'Tis true, that in the Evening one of the Young Men that were in the Canow with Father *Zenobe*, fir'd a Gun by M. *Tonti's* Order, and lighted a great Fire; but all was in vain.

The next Day, M. *Tonti* seeing he had behav'd himself

cowardly on this occasion, went back again by break of Day to the Place where we had left the Day before Father *Gabriel*, and continu'd there till Noon looking after the poor Christian. But though some of his Men enter'd into the Groves, where they saw the fresh Steps of a Man, which were also printed in the Meadows along the Bank of the River, they could never hear of him. M. *Tonti* said since, to excuse himself for having so basely forsaken Father *Gabriel*, That he thought the *Iroquese* had laid an Ambuscade to surprize him; for they had seen him flying away, and they might fancy he had declar'd himself for the *Illinois*.

But M. *Tonti* might have remember'd he had given his Letters for *Canada* to these *Iroquese*; and that if they had form'd any Design upon his Life, they would have executed it when he was among them: But they were so far from it, that when he was wounded, they presented him with a Collar of Porcelain; which they never do but when some unlucky Accidents happen. The Savages don't use so much circumspection; and therefore this Excuse is groundless and frivolous. Father *Zenobe* has left us in Writing, That he would stay for Father *Gabriel*: But M. *Tonti* forc'd him to embark at Three a Clock in the Afternoon; saying, That certainly he had been kill'd by the Enemies, or else he was gone a-foot along the Banks of the River; and that they would see him in their way. However, they could hear [238] nothing of him; and the farther they went, the greater Father *Zenobe's* Afflictions grew. They were then in such a want of Provisions, that they had nothing to feed upon but

Potatoes, Wild Garlick, and some small Roots they had scratch'd out of the Ground with their own Fingers.

We have heard since, that Father *Gabriel* had been kill'd a little while after his landing. The Nation of the *Kikapoux*, who, as one may see in our Map, inhabit to the Westward of the Bay of *Puans*, had sent their Youth to make War against the *Iroquese*; but hearing that these Barbarians were got into the Country of the *Illinois*, they went seeking about to surprize them. Three *Kikapoux*, making the Vanguard, met with Father *Gabriel*, and came up to him as near as they could, hiding themselves among the Grass, which is very high in that Country; and though they knew he was not an *Iroquese*, yet they knock'd him down with their Clubs, call'd *Head-breakers*, which are made of a very hard Wood. They left his Body on the spot, and carri'd away his Breviary and Journal, which since came to the Hands of a Jesuite, whom I will mention in my other Volume, wherein I design to speak of the First Introduction of the Faith into *Canada*. These Barbarians took off the Skin of his Head, and carri'd it in triumph to their Village, giving out that it was the Hair of an *Iroquese* whom they had kill'd.

Thus di'd this Good Old Man; to whom we may apply what the Scripture says of those whom *Herod* in his Fury caus'd to be Slain, *Non erat qui sepeliret*; There was no body to Bury him. This Worthy Man was wont in the Lessons he made us in our Novitiate, to prepare us against the like Accidents by Mortifications. And it seems that he had some foresight of what befel him. So Good a Man deserv'd a

Better Fate, if a Better might be wish'd for, [239] than to die in the Functions of an Apostolical Mission, by the Hands of those same Nations, to whom the Divine Providence had sent him to convert them.

Father *Gabriel* was about 65 Years old. He had not only liv'd an exemplary Life, such as our Good Fathers do, but had also perform'd all the Duties of the Employments he had in that Order, either when he was at home Guardian, Superior, Inferior, and Master of the Novices; or abroad when he was in *Canada*, where he continu'd from the Year 1670, until his Death. I understood several times by his Discourses, that he was much oblig'd to the *Flemings*, who had maintain'd him a long time: He often talk'd to us about it, to inspire us, by his Example, with some Sentiments of Gratitude towards our Benefactors. I have seen him mov'd with Grief, considering that so many Nations liv'd in the Ignorance of the Way to Salvation; and he was willing to lose his Life, to deliver them out of their Stupidity.

The *Iroquese* said of him, That he had been brought to bed, because his Great Belly was become flat by his frequent Fastings, and the Austerity of his Life.

M. *Tonti* can never clear himself of his Baseness, for forsaking Father *Gabriel*, under pretence of being afraid of the *Iroquese*: For though they are a Wild Nation, yet they lov'd that Good Old Man, who had been often among them: But M. *Tonti* might bear him some Secret Grudge; because Father *Gabriel*, after the *Illinois* Defeat, seeing that M. *Tonti* had over-laden the Canow with Beavers-Skins, so that there

was no room for him, he did throw many of these Skins to the *Iroquese*, to shew them that he was not come into that Country to get Skins or other Commodities.

[240] Father *Zenobe* had neither Credit nor Courage enough to persuade M. *Tonti* to stay a while for that Good Father, who was thus sacrific'd to secure some Beavers-Skins. I do not doubt but the Death of that *venerable* Old Man was very precious in the sight of God, and I hope it will produce one time or other its Effects, when it shall please God to set forth his Mercy towards these Wild Nations; and I do wish it might please him to make use of a feeble means, as I am, to finish what I have, through His Grace, and with Labour, so happily begun.

CHAP. LXXVI.

The Author's Return from his Discovery, to Quebec; and what hapned at his Arrival at the Convent of Our Lady of Angels near that Town.

COUNT Frontenac, Viceroy of *Canada*, gave me two of his Guards, who understood very well to manage a Canow, to carry me to *Quebec*. We set out from *Champlain's* Fort, mention'd above; and being near the Town, I landed, and went a-foot through the Lands newly grubb'd up, to our Monastery, bidding the Guards to carry the Canow along with them.

I would not land at *Quebec*, because the Bishop had given order to his Vicar-General to receive me in his Episcopal Palace, that he might have more time to enquire about our Great Discovery: But Count *Frontenac* had expressly order'd his Major that was in the Town, to prevent that Meeting, and to take care that I might first be brought to our Monastery, to confer with Father *Valentin de Roux*, a Man of great Understanding, and Provincial-Commissary of the Recollects in *Canada*.

[241] There was then in our Monastery of Our *Lady of Angels*, but Three Missionaries with the said Commissary; all

the rest were dispers'd up-and-down in several Missions above a hundred Leagues from *Quebec*. One may easily imagine that I was welcome to our Monastery; Father *Hilarion Jeunet* seem'd surpriz'd, and told me with a smiling Countenance, *Lazare veni foras*. Whereupon I ask'd him why he did apply to me what had been said of *Lazarus*? To which he answer'd, that two Years ago a Mass of *Requiem* had been sung for me in the Monastery, because some Savages had given out for certain, to a Black Gown, *i. e.* a Jesuit, That the Nation whom the *Iroquesse* call *Hontouagaba*,¹ had hung me to a Tree with St. *Francis's* Rope; and that two Men who accompani'd me, had been also in a very cruel manner put to Death by the same Savages.

Here I must confess, That all Men have their Friends and their Enemies. There are some Men who, like the Fire that blackens the Wood it cannot burn, must needs raise Stories against their Neighbours; and therefore some having not been able to get me into their Party, spread abroad this Rumour of my Death, to stain my Reputation; and that Noise had given occasion to several Discourses in *Canada* to my Prejudice. However, (for I will, if it please God, declare my Mind farther upon this matter in another Volume) I ought to acknowledge that God has preserv'd me by a sort of Miracle, in this great and dangerous Voyage, of which you have an Account in this Volume. And when I think on it with attention, I am persuaded that Providence has kept

¹ See p. 87, note 1, *ante*.—Ed.

me for publishing to the World the Great Discoveries I have made in Eleven Years time, or thereabouts, that I have liv'd in the *West-Indies*.

[242] It must be observ'd, That a great many Men meddle with Business that don't belong to them, and will conceive a Jealousy against those that won't conform to their Humour. The Provincial-Commissary, of whom I have spoken before, was very urgent to have a Copy of the Journal of the Discovery I had made in a Voyage of almost four Years, telling me he would keep it secret. I took his Word; for I thought, and I think still, he was a Man of Honour and Probity. Besides, I did consider that he could instruct the Bishop of *Quebec*, and Count *Frontenac*, with what they had a mind to know of this Discovery, and satisfy them both, without exposing my self.

For this purpose were intended all the Care he took of me, and all the extraordinary Civilities he did shew me, in entertaining me with all he could get then, and calling me often the *Rais'd-again*. He desir'd me to return into *Europe*, to acquaint the Publick with the great Discoveries I had made, and that by this way I should avoid the Jealousy of these two Men; that it was very difficult to please two Masters, whose Employment and Interests were so different.

He had then, before my Return into *Europe*, all the time that was necessary to Copy out my whole Voyage on the River *Meschasipi*, which I had undertook against M. *de la Salle's* Opinion, who has made since a Voyage from the

Illinois to the Gulph of *Mexico*, in the Year 1682, and two Years after me.¹ He had had some suspicion I had made that Voyage; yet he could not know the Truth of it at my Return to Fort *Frontenac*, because he had then undertook a Voyage to the *Outouagamis*, not knowing whether the Savages had murther'd me, as it had been given out.

I follow'd our Commissary's Advice, and the Resolution to return into *Europe*; but before I set out, [243] I shew'd him that it was absolutely necessary for the Settlement of Colonies in our Discoveries, and make some progress towards the establishing of the Gospel, to keep all these several Nations in peace, even the most remote, and assist them against the *Iroquese*, who are their Common Enemies: That these Barbarians never make a True Peace with those that they have once beaten, or they hope to overcome, in spreading Divisions among them; that the common Maxim of the *Iroquese* had always been such, and by this means they had destroy'd above Two Millions of Souls.

The Provincial-Commissary agreed with me upon all this, and told me that for the future he should give me all the necessary Instructions for that purpose.

¹ With a text abounding in references of this character, disparaging La Salle and setting up the claim that the author, first of all white men, voyaged on the lower Mississippi, it is surprising that Shea should advance the theory, in his edition of *Louisiane*, that the account of this voyage was interpolated by another hand, for which Hennepin should not be held responsible. If this is not Hennepin's claim, then all of his latest books are open to the suspicion that he had nothing to do with them — and this is inadmissible; from Preface to *Finis*, the narrative is clothed in his unmistakable style.—ED.

I will give an Account, if it please God, in my Second Volume, of the Ways and Measures that are to be taken for the establishing of the Faith among the many Nations of so different Languages; and how good Colonies might be settled in those great Countries, which might be call'd the Delights of *America*, and become one of the greatest Empires in the World.

FINIS.

[End of Volume I.—ED.]

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